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ABSTRACT

This special issue of the Whole Earth Papers contains a series of articles expressing views about world order from the perspective of India. The first three articles discuss a world view of non-duality stressing the unity of the universe; the need to establish universal social justice in a world whose limited resources are unjustly divided; and the possibility of considering alternative world models based on minimization of collective violence and maximization of social and economic well-being. Another article suggests a recreation of modern culture by incorporating aspects of eastern cultures into the predominant western culture which permeates the world. Technology and economic priorities should be tempered by recognition of the worth of the individual. Another article discusses the world's developing consciousness about the roles of technology, power, and knowledge in influencing the future. Also included are excerpts from the writings of Indian philosophers and politicians such as Ghandi and Nehru, and reviews of books by Indian authors on the topics of world order and the future. (AV)

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This special issue of the *Whole Earth Papers* is an expression of Global Education Associates' transnational and transcultural dialogue on strategies for achieving a more just and human world order. Future issues will feature perspectives from other regions of the world.

Indian Voices on World Order

THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS
Winter 1978 Vol. 1, No. 5

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Some of the perspectives offered by our Indian contributors differ from usual Western views. For this reason especially, these voices need to be heard in the West.

India, as one of the birth places of world religion, has a rich spiritual legacy. In the spiritual vision of many of these writers, planetary oneness and human unity are not in question. As Sri Aurobindo said, unity is a "necessity of Nature and the Divine Will." Some of these contributors see world government as an inevitable and necessary part of a larger spiritual journey toward unification.

But while India is often looked to for her spiritual contribution, what is often overlooked is the contribution from her socio-political experience.

India already has a body of political thought on world order. While the Indian independence movement was gaining momentum in the early and middle parts of this century, the Western world was being torn by confrontations among the colonial powers. At the same time, the ideological debate between the forces of capitalism and communism was being waged world-wide. The League of Nations lacked effective means to prevent World War II or the genocide of six million Jews. It was also ill-equipped to respond to the human concerns at the heart of the growing ideological conflict. Nor could it satisfy the aspirations of colonized peoples for freedom.

It was in this context that Nehru formulated his thoughts not only on India's national future, but also on India's role in a future world order. He was convinced that world government was a necessity. And he wanted India to participate in its development as an equal among equals, with the dignity of self-government.

Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders of India's freedom movement felt India had a special contribution to make to a world federation. Having experienced foreign rule and the struggle for autonomy, India would be in a position to speak for the self-determination of other colonized peoples in Asia and Africa. Nehru felt India — not caught up in the ideological conflict between capitalism and communism — could provide a new "moral force," a "third way," as an alternative to these polarized forces. (This vision of a third force was later to give birth, under Nehru's leadership, to an affiliation of non-aligned nations).

Gandhi hoped that the lessons of non-violence being learned in India would be implemented as guiding principles of a new order in the relationships between nations. And Sri Aurobindo felt world government was not only an inevitable part of the human spiritual journey toward unification, but necessary to protect the freedom of the smaller and less powerful nations.

The United Nations, despite its many successes, suffers some of the same limitations as the League of Nations. It has not been enabled to meet the expectations of these forward-looking men. Nor was it empowered to secure world peace and disarmament. Feeling threatened by China and Pakistan, and struggling to survive in a world arena of individual states competing for military and economic power, India has gone the route of most other nations. Lacking world collective security, she has felt forced to ensure national security by putting increasing emphasis on military strength and capital-intensive industrial development. In 1974 she became a nuclear power.

India's role in the current search for a more just and effective world order will be significant. Her population of six hundred million world citizens of diverse cul-

tural, language and religious backgrounds is one factor. She mirrors the problems and challenges of pluralism in the larger human community. Likewise, the struggle for social justice within her borders shares much in common with the struggle for social justice in other nations.

The failure of Western development models and materialism to ensure a desirable future for India, underscores the importance of critically assessing our definitions of development — not only for India, but in terms of the human community at large. The whole world is a developing country. No nation or people has arrived.

This issue on *Indian Voices* is a beginning effort of Global Education Associates to facilitate a global listening process and under-standing (i.e. standing *under* and *in* the concerns and hopes) of people from around the earth who share the search for a more peaceful, just and humanizing future.

The contributors to this issue include people who:

1. participated in a series of conferences on "Human Development and World Order" that were co-sponsored by Global Education Associates and the All India Association for Christian Higher Education during 1975 and 1977, in Bombay, Bangalore and New Delhi; or
2. were invited individually to share their views on world order; or
3. speak from the legacy of India's recent past.

Their papers represent neither a unified stance nor conclusive personal statements about world order. Rather, they are an attempt to struggle with the many questions and problems — as well as possibilites — that are posed in the search for a more fully human future.

—Patricia Mische

ADVAITA AND

A worldview of non-duality

Not all the authors in *Indian Voices on World Order* are from the Hindu tradition. Some are members of other living faiths in India, and some prefer not to be identified so much by religious affiliations as their human concerns.

Hinduism, however, provides a values and cultural framework which, more than any other single factor, continues to exert significant influence on most phases of Indian life. Some initial exploratory reflections on certain aspects of the Hindu worldview can provide a context for appreciating the relevance of these essays in today's interdependent world — regardless of whether the reader is from the East or West.

Relevant to the human community's search for a framework for developing a viable world order is the non-dualistic principle of *advaita* which has been a prominent concept in Indian history. This worldview of non-duality stresses the unity of the universe, of all life and of humankind.

A central theme in Hindu thought has been that the entire universe is one organic whole which transcends the divisions of race, nationality and geography. The epic, *Mahabharata*, describes "the universe, including earth, heaven and the netherworld" as "one country." It speaks of "humankind as one kind."

This non-dualistic world view appears to be an important factor in determining the meaning of *Dharma* as the Supreme, Unchangeable Law which governs right relationship and conduct among various people and groups. Dharma governs the religious and ethical rights and duties of individuals. As unchangeable, this "Law of Nature" has greater authority than any positive law which civil rulers might legislate. And a central principle of this unchangeable, "eternal" law is the unity of *all* people.

The worldview comprised by advaita and Dharma can speak to the question of national sovereignty on two levels: as related to the individual and as related to the whole of humanity. The two aspects are inter-related.

According to Dharma, the individual has a sovereign right to follow the dictates of the Natural Law according to his or her conscience. The State does not have authority to deny a person's right to follow Dharma. The only limitation on the individual's sovereignty in pursuit of Dharma is when one person's conscience may interfere with another person's pursuit of what their conscience tells them to be Dharma. In this instance, the role of the State is to seek to mediate the conflicting views and practices. It cannot legislate positive law that would abrogate accepted views of natural law. The State's role is to safeguard and provide the conditions that permit the individual person to live — in just and harmonious relationship with others and with all nature — according to Dharma.

Rather, national civil authority is subordinate to the unchangeable principles of Dharma, i.e., of Natural Law, which would enable its citizens to live not only in peace with each other, but also in a world society governed on principles of just relationships (social justice) for *all*. According to the principle of non-duality, advaita speaks to the concern and responsibility which nations as well as individuals must have for the needs of *all* people.

It is true that the social-political implications of this world-view have not been fully explored in Hindu thought. But the philosophic foundation for a world community based on the limited sovereignty of existing nation-states does exist inherently in the concept of Dharma. The challenge is to develop it more explicitly.

Gandhi spoke of India's responsibility to keep its windows open to the rest of the world. Nehru spoke of Gandhi's "amazing sense of unity with the dispossessed and poverty-stricken *not only of India but of the world.*"

Nehru also frequently spoke on the need to build "one world." The model he presented for Indians to imitate was: "All my life and strength were given to *the first cause of the world — the liberation of mankind.*" He seemed to apply Dharma to the political order when he said: "I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognize the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace."

WORLD COMMUNITY

stressing the unity of the universe, of all life and of humankind.

Besides being limited in its relationship to its citizens, national civil authority is also limited in its relationship to the whole of humankind. It is here especially that we see the relevancy of the non-dualistic principle of advaita, which affirms that an essential tenet in Natural Law is the unity of humankind. Consequently, any essential severance of this unity of all by a concept of absolute national sovereignty transgresses Natural Law, i.e., Dharma.

Within this worldview, civil rulers must strive to foster conditions which will permit and encourage individual citizens to live according to Dharma in their personal lives and in their relations with others. When based on the principle of advaita, Dharma can be described as a code of conduct of respect and social responsibility to all living beings. It does not limit this relationship of respect and social duty only to members of a particular sect or nation.

Accordingly, the full implications of Dharma will be realized when civil rulers also strive for those conditions which will permit and encourage their citizens — individually or as a whole — to live and work together with citizens of other nations in a world community which is oriented toward the common good of all. Within the full implications of this advaita-based concept of Dharma, individual nations do not have absolute authority to determine relations with other nations — or the relations of their citizens to citizens of other nations.

This commitment to the common good of all people is evidenced in India's Constitution. Part IV, Article 51, is entitled "Directive Principles of State Policy:

The State shall endeavor to:

a. promote international peace and security;
b. maintain just and honorable relations between nations;
c. foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another;
d. encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration."

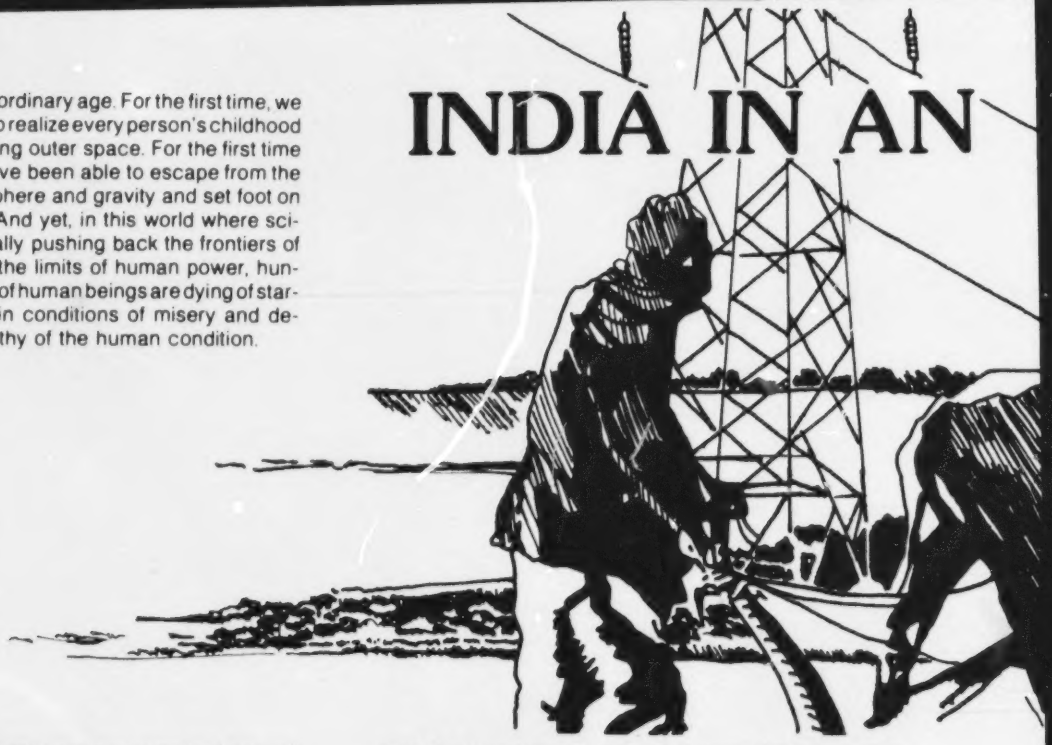
Arnold Toynbee wrote: "The ancient Indian awareness of all living creatures antedates by several thousand years the recent scientific discovery that all forms of life on this planet, including man, go back to a common origin. This is one of the striking cases in which science has been anticipated by intuition."

This high level of philosophical and theological maturity and development in ancient Indian society can provide valuable and relevant insights to contemporary efforts to achieve a viable world community. ■

—Gerald Mische

INDIA IN AN

We live in an extraordinary age. For the first time, we have been able to realize every person's childhood dream of exploring outer space. For the first time in history, we have been able to escape from the bonds of atmosphere and gravity and set foot on another planet. And yet, in this world where science is continually pushing back the frontiers of knowledge and the limits of human power, hundreds of millions of human beings are dying of starvation or living in conditions of misery and degradation unworthy of the human condition.



In addition to the scientific and technological spin-off benefits of space exploration, one important psychological gain has accrued—man's first detched view of earth from outer space. As the American astronaut, Martin Borman exclaimed in ecstatic tones: earth looked like another space-ship, blue-black in colour, flecked with green, swathed in wreaths of silvery clouds, drifting through space —a beautiful, small, space vehicle, providing a viable ecosystem for its inhabitants, but with limited resources for their sustenance.

Borman was entranced by the similarity that "spaceship earth" bore to the one in which he was hurtling through space. An important difference, however, escaped him, a difference concerning the passengers on the two spaceships, their mode of life, their attitudes and outlook: On Borman's ship there were four passengers. All considered themselves friends and brothers, bound to each other with such strong ties of interdependence that the safety of all depended on the conduct of each. From this perception of their interdependence sprang a sense of fellowship and equality in all respects, notably in sharing the amenities and burdens of their hazardous mission. The air, the food, the water, the rest and relaxation as also the tasks, the risks, the anxieties and problems were equally shared by all. This is why the mission succeeded and all could equally share in the final triumph though only three actually set foot on the moon while one remained in the orbiting spaceship waiting to pick up the moon walkers.

What is the situation in spaceship earth? We would get a dramatic, but wholly accurate picture if we reduce the 4 billion population of the world to four, so that one person stands for 1 billion human beings. Then one out of the four inhabitants of spaceship earth would represent the present combined populations of Europe (East and West), North America and Japan which come to slightly over 1 billion. The other three passengers would represent the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who add up to a little less than 3 billions. Now the difference between Borman's space craft and Spaceship Earth is this. The one passenger, representing 25% of the world's population belonging to the rich countries of the Northern hemisphere controls, and consumes 80% of the life-sustaining resources available aboard the spacecraft. The other three crewmen, representing three-quarters of humanity, have to get along with the remaining 20%, making 6.5% each to one man's 80%.

Put like this, it may sound piggish, and so indeed it is! Speaking in terms of energy alone, which is the most fashionable and the most important resource of the world today, the United States, with 6% of the world's population, today consumes 40% of the world's available energy. Even this massive consumption was unable to keep the American people warmed to the degree to which they are accustomed during the last rigorous winter, simply because at least half of their colossal energy consumption is wasted in running millions of enormous private automobiles, each transporting one passenger; in overheating and overcooling homes and offices, in keeping the lights of entire cities blazing throughout the night, and in a thousand other ways that are taken almost for granted.

If we think now of grain which is the basic food of most people, we are confronted with the same horrendous picture of inequality. The U.S.A. consumes over 200 million tons of grain, while India manages with 100 million tons, of which about 4 million tons are purchased from abroad, at a cost of $600 million. Thus American grain consumption works out at nearly 1 ton per man, woman and child, as against India's per capita consumption of 170 kilos. Of course, only 100 kgs of the American per capita consumption is eaten directly in the form of bread, biscuits, cakes; the rest is converted into secondary foods: meat, milk, eggs, poultry and dairy products, the most wasteful way of feeding people from the land. If the entire human consumption of grain is taken, we find the same horrible imbalance; the 25% of rich people consume two-thirds of the world's production of grain. When drought hit large parts of Asia and Africa in 1972, it was the Soviet Union which imported 29 million tons of grain from the U.S., Canada, Argentina and Australia, while India took only 4 million tons! From this it is clear that the idea spread among the people of rich countries that the teeming populations of the 'third world' consume most of the world's food and hence any increase in their numbers will lead to mass starvation is simply invention and fabrication. On the contrary, if the rich countries would cut down their consumption of animal products

INTERDEPENDENT WORLD:
Social Justice and World Order

by THEO A. MATHIAS, S. J.

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by 10%, enough grain would be saved to look after the entire needs of the third world! It has been repeatedly and rightly stated that from the point of view of resource consumption and ecological damage, one American is equivalent to 20 Indians or Africans, so that 208 million population of the U S should really be reckoned as over 4 billion!

It should be noted that large tracts of land possessed by several developed countries were usurped from non-white peoples who were then often virtually exterminated. This happened in the U.S.A., Canada, South America, Rhodesia and Australia and New Zealand. What is worse, after occupying these vast and fertile territories, the colonisers have prevented the immigration of non-white peoples.

Again it should be noted that the enormous amount of research done in the developed countries serves to consolidate and further increase their own standard of living, and to solve the medical, personal and environmental problems arising out of superaffluence and high consumption levels. Moreover, through the system of education that these rich countries have bequeathed to their ex-colonies, most of the bright young people of developing countries have their minds and imaginations turned towards the West. Their ambition is to imitate the standard of living, and the ideals of the affluent nations. As a result what immigration is permitted by the rich countries from the citizens of the third world consists almost exclusively of well-educated professional men and women, doctors, scientists, economists etc., who thus contribute their talents and their education to the research going on in the rich countries for the solution of their problems. In the last 30 years, 200,000 well-educated Indians have settled down in the U.S.A., and as many in Canada. Of these about 15,000 are fully qualified physicians and several thousands more are scientists and engineers, specialised in various disciplines.

To sum the matter up: if by accident you are born in the northern part of the world, then you will have every chance of living up to seventy five: you will have plenty of food of every variety and the best education; you will enjoy good health and have sophisticated medical care, including organ transplants, at your disposal in case of ill-health. If on the other hand you are born in the southern part of the world, then you have every chance of dying before you are forty eight; you have a 50% chance of living and dying illiterate, shut off from the world of knowledge and events; you may never see a doctor in your life and have a better than average chance of starving.

□

The question now arises how much peace can one visualise or expect aboard our spaceship earth when its limited resources are so unjustly divided and especially when the situation tends to worsen each year? How much success can one expect in the human enterprise of living in such a world? What would happen in Borman's spaceship if one of the crewmen insisted on monopolising 80% of the amenities and the resources? The answers to these questions are implicit in two facts: the constant concern among the people of the rich countries about "the challenge of the third world" and their continually rising expenditure on armaments. What are these armaments meant for? Does anybody seriously believe they are intended to safeguard the "American way of life" or "the Soviet way of life"? Is it not closer to the truth to say that American and Soviet interests now increasingly run along parallel lines and what both countries fear more than anything else is an attempt on the part of the hungry multitudes to forcibly snatch what they possess. The possibility of a Russian American armed clash is something of the past; what we are much more likely to see is Russian-American cooperation to protect the privileges of the rich.

Yet how foolish it is to believe that peace can be secured by arms! Ultimately the only way to peace is Justice. If three-fourths of the human race live in misery while the other fourth enjoy ever greater luxury, can we expect anything but frustrations, despair and ultimately cataclysmic violence? As Barbara Ward powerfully puts it: "Will the envied rich enjoy some divine immunity? No, the choice is quite clear. Either we do something about the world's great split or the writing is already on the wall."[1]

The 'National Security Straitjacket'

We have, therefore, a long way to go before genuine interdependence becomes possible. The first obstacle to overcome is the suspicion of other peoples and the competition between countries. The suspicion shows itself in the continual piling up of armaments and the incessant efforts to increase their range and destructive power. The competition is expressed in the effort to pile up foreign exchange by ensuring favourable trade balances with other countries and the rivalry for possession and exploitation of natural resources. These are the chains which bind nations and prevent them from even considering the possibility of brotherly cooperation for mutual prosperity and peace.

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In their book *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond The National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist Press, New York, 1977) Gerald and Patricia Mische argue that all nations, rich and poor, developed and developing, European, Asian, African and American are affected in roughly the same ways by this competition.

The Misches show that not only do the "others" suffer in this competitive process, but the citizens of every nation are themselves also victims. Human values, important services like health, education, environmental protection, full employment are put in cold storage, so that most of the resources of the nation may be directed towards national security. An ever increasing proportion of the national budget is spent on defense and less and less on those services which would ensure a more peaceful, secure and comfortable existence to the people. Thus the U.S. spends more than $100 billion while urgent national needs such as health, housing, social security, full employment, ecology are neglected. The same could be said of almost any other country. India's defense allocation amounts to Rs. 3,000 crores representing 25% of the union budget, while the people of India are being deprived of essential services. During an actual war, the people can easily be called upon to make such sacrifices "for the duration". The characteristic of our times is that, while we are not in a state of war, neither do we have peace. All nations are in a state of perpetual tension. Moreover, owing to the existence of instruments of instant and total destruction, there is no interval between the declaration of a war and the actual hostilities, a period which was traditionally used for mobilization. This means that nations must be in a state of continual preparedness, i.e., a no war — no peace situation which requires that the armed forces should always be kept in a state of maximum readiness and weapons constantly renewed and replaced by more modern ones.

The technology used in the manufacture of armaments also has to be the most modern possible, since nothing but the best can suffice; nothing is too good to ensure the security of the nation. Now the choice of sophisticated technology in a key industrial sector inevitably influences other branches of industry, many of which have to manufacture components for the armaments factories. Every country is, therefore, obliged to go in for capital intensive, labour-saving, technology. This may be all right in the case of the developed countries; it becomes disastrous for developing nations like India, where the main focus of economic development should be generating employment on a wide scale for the large and growing population.

Need for Interdependence

For all these reasons which are convincingly made in the Misches' book, it is clearly essential to dismantle the "National Security State" before one can think of setting up a truly interdependent world in which the resources of the planet will be shared among nations according to their needs, so as to ensure the welfare and prosperity of all. This may seem to require considerable sacrifices on the part of the rich and the strong. In actual fact, it is only apparently so. Given their enormous expenditures on armaments, these are the nations that will benefit most immediately from a reduction of tensions and the setting up of cooperative world economic, social and political structures.

All this may sound utopian. Genuine interdependence, however, is undeniably a desperate human need. In the third quarter of the century it has become increasingly evident that social and political problems which were thought to be internal affairs of one nation or another have assumed such mass and momentum that they must now be recognized by all. It is therefore urgently important to create public opinion in every country of the world and especially in large and important ones, which, willy nilly, have to play a central role on the world stage. India is definitely one such nation.

Rays of Hope — Attitudinal Changes

Fortunately there are some bright rays on this horizon. There is at least a beginning of consciousness among the peoples of the world of the unjust situation we have described and also a conviction that something will have to be done about it. No longer is it being taken for granted as something natural; no longer are foolish explanations based on race, religion and culture being given to tranquilize uneasy consciences. Facile statements like: "We are industrious; they are lazy" or "Our culture teaches thrift, honesty and hard work; theirs nurtures waste,

corruption and laziness", are no longer given much credence. For the first time, there is a willingness to make an objective analysis of the situation in order to discover its causes. Finally, there is a growing conviction that humanity will survive or be destroyed together.

These attitudinal changes show themselves in various ways. First, nationalism, that sacred cow of the past is being transcended by many people. Owing to the fantastic rapidity and ease of modern communications (travel, television, radio) peoples of the world are being brought together as never before and there is a growing sense of the oneness of humankind. Saul Mendlovitz puts it like this: "The fact that the overwhelming majority of humanity understands for the first time in history that human society encompasses the entire globe, is a phenomenon equivalent to humanity's understanding that the globe is round rather than flat, or that the sun is at the centre of the universe and not the earth. This knowledge is having an enormously dramatic impact on the images and attitudes we have with regard to the authority structures of the international community, as well as those of domestic societies"[2].

While it is an exaggeration to say that "the overwhelming majority of humanity" now believes in the existence of the global village, it is at least true that among the rich and powerful nations of the world, this sense is growing every day which is indeed a most hopeful sign. Thus among the millions of words that were written on the occasion of the Bicentennial of American Independence, celebrated on July 4, 1976, one struck this writer more than any other, viz.: the editorial of the Saturday Review entitled "A Declaration of Interdependence". There the eminent editor, Norman Cousins writes: "Does anyone doubt that the American founding Fathers would urge on the world today a companion doctrine to go along with the one now being celebrated—and that they would call it "A Declaration of Interdependence"? Is there any question that they would attempt to persuade us that national independence in today's world only is a condition of world interdependence"[3].

This editorial is symptomatic of an important dimension in the new vision of the unity of humankind, viz.: the concept of *interdependence* in every sphere: political, cultural, social and especially economic. Cynics may say that the rich countries of the northern hemisphere began speaking about economic interdependence only after October 1973, when OPEC imposed a five-fold increase in the price of the most important commodity for the industrialized world—oil, and thus threw their economies into turmoil! As Tarzie Vittachi says very well in his column "Poor Nations are just Dependent" in Newsweek of June 14, 1976: "Interdependence is often intended to mean the mutual dependence of the all-rich and the oil-rich. Too often all that it means is: "You have oil, we have machines. We want your oil at reasonable prices, until we become self-sufficient and independent of you". The rich are interdependent while the poor, alas, are just dependent"[4].

The perspectives offered by Theo Mathias in this article were originally presented by him at a 1977 New Delhi Conference on Human Development and Global Interdependence, *co-sponsored by Global Education Associates and the All India Association of Christian Higher Education (A I A C H E). The article has also been published in A I A C H E 's journal,* New Frontiers in Education, *Vol. VII, No. 2, Delhi, (April, — June, 1977). It appears in* The Whole Earth Papers *in only slight variation from its publication in India, with permission of the author and* New Frontiers in Education.

Whether this cynical view of the situation is justified or not, there is no doubt that the OPEC action marked the first real forward step in the realisation of world economic interdependence, and as such it marks a watershed in the economic history of the globe. OPEC visibly demonstrated for the first time that the poor countries need no longer be totally helpless in the face of manipulation of world markets and control of natural resources by the rich. It is now clear that if the weak are still dependent on the strong, then, in the future, at least, the strong will also be vulnerable to the weak. Thus the "oil crisis" is a clear demonstration that the future of the world depends on the ability of rich and poor, white, brown and black to sit down and discuss issues as *equals* and not as powerful to weak.

The psychological trauma caused to the Western world by the OPEC attack was actually worse than the serious inflationary blow to their economies. This explains the irrational fury with which the OPEC action was met: the threat of snatching the oil by force mouthed by no less a person than Henry Kissinger and the new theory, coming strangely indeed from Western quarters, that no people should have sovereignty over their resources if these are required by the world community, i.e. of course by the rich. One wonders why such theories were not applied to American wheat or soya beans!

Fortunately, the trauma is beginning to heal; the foolish threats are being forgotten; the new economic theories have been dropped. Instead what remains is a profound conviction among the rich that in the future they will have to make concessions to the poor, not as now in a spirit of charity, but simply because there is no alternative—they themselves will suffer otherwise. And this is the true meaning of interdependence, a profound conviction that one's own fortunes are indissolubly linked with the welfare and happiness of other peoples and that all must progress together, otherwise all will go down together.

Appreciation of Social Justice

The second reason for hope is the new realization one sees of the importance of social justice at both national and international levels, i.e. the need for an equitable distribution of goods and services between the various classes of people in each nation and between the various peoples of the world. The desire for social justice is in fact one of the most attractive features of today's world. It explains why a country like China which was despised, feared and hated by the Western world is now the object of so much adulation and respect. The military power of that country is, of course, an important ingredient of its new standing; but in addition there is the fact that China is perceived as a nation which, in spite of its economic backwardness, has within 30 years come to grips with and solved its social justice problem and given all its people a fair deal. It is the same appreciation of justice that is responsible for India's not being held in esteem. Despite our military power, our sophisticated industry, and our wealth of human and natural resources, the world sees India as a country which has done little or nothing to bring justice to its people.

The understanding of the need for social justice between nations directly produces a conviction that the resources of the world should be more equitably distributed among the world's peoples. As a result, for the first time in the last two hundred years, we see religious and other

groups in the rich countries actively pressuring their governments to pass suitable legislation to give the poor countries a better economic deal. *Bread for the World*,[5] a Christian organization in the United States is an outstanding example.

Growing Unity of the Third World

Another factor that gives hope for the establishment of interdependent world economic and social structures is the growing unity of the third world and their awareness that change can be brought about only through united action in every international forum. After years of exploitation, fragmentation, dependence and peripheral existence, the former colonies of the world at last have a sense of being able to direct their own destiny and deal with others on a footing of equality. The dominance of Third World countries in the United Nations and other international forums; their ability to put forward reasoned and jointly sponsored programmes; their willingness to make sacrifices in order to realize these programmes and to resist pressure from the rich countries—all this holds out much promise for the future.

For the first time again there is a profound understanding of the role that Capitalism and its offspring Colonialism have played in the economic subjugation of the third world. As Norman Givran says in an article on "Economic Nationalism" published in the prestigious American review *Daedalus*: "While it is true that the contemporary system of development-underdevelopment domination-dependence and centre-periphery relations that characterize the unjust international society in which we live, became established in the post-war years, it is also true that these forms represent merely the most recent manifestations of a system that had been evolving over the better part of the last five centuries. In a sense, the seeds of the present world system were sown towards the end of the fifteenth century when, in Western Europe, the embryo of a commercial capitalism began to emerge from out of the old feudal order, and was further encouraged by the European maritime "discoveries" of America and of a sea route to the East. The centuries that followed were disastrous for the vast majority of non-European peoples who were visited by massacres, pillage, forced migration, slavery, indentured labour, and finally coerced into a reorientation of their socio-economic systems around the production of goods that would satisfy the requirements of their metropolitan countries. In short these countries were led from undevelopment to underdevelopment, from autonomy to dependence"[6]. We might add: these countries became something which they still are today, despite political independence, mere appendages of the world economic system, which centres round the handful of rich white nations, and renders all others peripheral to global trade and economy.

Among the poor countries of the world there is today a clear understanding of the nature of the unjust world trade structures that produce inequalities under which they labour. Third world economists and others brought out the fact that while the products of the industrialized nations increased in price more than 100% in the last 20 years, those of the primary commodities and raw materials produced by the poor countries remained virtually stationery or increased by only a small percentage. In other words, the terms of trade dictated by the rich who control the markets are constantly unfavourable to the poor and result in the net transfer of vast resources from the poor to the rich.

Nor do the so-called "aid" programmes set these injustices right. In the first place most aid is in the form of repayable loans. Then the amount given is a mere trickle (.33% of the GNP of the rich countries as against the agreed figure of .7%) Also, most of it is tied to the purchase of the goods of the donor countries which are generally higher in price. Finally more than half of the official "aid"is really political or military in nature and intended for the benefit of the donor country.

It is for all these reasons that the poor countries have demanded a NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO) and the United Nations has held two special sessions to consider this demand. If such an order is indeed worked out and actually put into practice, a giant step will have been taken towards the establishment of a genuinely interdependent world society.

Cooperation through Confrontation

It is inconceivable that the present gross inequalities between the rich minority of northern hemisphere nations and the poor majority of southern hemisphere countries can continue much longer without disastrous consequences for the peace of the world. Despair on the part of the poor can lead to desperate actions. The rash of hijackings and terrorist actions all over the world indicates what can be done by groups of individuals or small nations, some of whom labour under a profound sense of injustice and a feeling of hopelessness at the possibility of ever finding a solution to their problems.

What then can we envisage when despair and frustration afflict three quarters of humanity! Obviously means must be found to bring about greater equality and more just sharing of resources among the various nations of the world. This can be produced either through cooperation or confrontation.

The path of confrontation has already been initiated by OPEC with outstanding success, and this undoubtedly carries a lesson for other poor countries, viz.: through unity and determination they can force the rich countries to pay higher prices for their commodities and thus bring about a real transfer of resources from rich to poor. The lesson has not been lost. Other developing nations are in the process of forming cartels for the export of iron ore, copper, bauxite, manganese and even such products as coffee and tea. It has to be acknowledged of course, that it is vastly more difficult to set up an effective cartel in the case of these commodities for a variety of reasons. Some of these reasons are: the number of producers is larger, they do not have a virtual monopoly; they are less able to make the sacrifices necessary to sustain a real economic confrontation; substitutes can be found, and in the last analysis it is possible for the countries to cut down on consumption articles such as coffee and tea. There is also the fact that the rich nations can retaliate in a number of ways—not least by manipulating the prices of such essential commodities as wheat. Nevertheless, the very fact that groups of producing countries are in process of formation is an indication of the influence that the OPEC action has had; and of the almost irresistible attraction that confrontation has for a majority of poor countries who simply do not believe that the rich will ever come to terms unless they are forced to do so.

This is probably true. In other words, it would seem that no real progress towards cooperation can be achieved

It is imperative that each developing country should set goals that will aim at providing a higher quality of life for the majority, not comfort for the few.

unless there is confrontation to begin with. If only OPEC would show more genuine solidarity with the poor world to which they themselves so recently belonged, the confrontation would be more effective and would lead much sooner to cooperation between north and south. In the long run it is obvious that no matter how we arrive at it, cooperation through the establishment of global structures is indispensable.

This is the significance of the movement gathering force all over the world to set up world economic, social and political structures which would presuppose and reflect the fact of international economic interdependence. One of the most important of these movements is the WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT (WOMP), under the auspices of the Institute for World Order, in which nine international teams are now participating.

What Should the Poor Do?

In the meantime, the developing nations have to realize that in addition to demanding action from the rich they should initiate action themselves. Their action will be in different but simultaneous directions.

1. *First* comes the imperative need for closer union and cooperation between developing countries. They must learn to trade more with each other, to borrow technology and resources available among themselves so as to be free from excessive dependence upon the rich. This was the object of the conference held in Mexico in 1976 and the establishment of an international institute in that country to foster exchange of technology between developing countries.

2. *Secondly*, developing countries have to exercise self-restraint. As Mahatma Gandhi once said of the people of India: They must curb their desires, so as to be able to satisfy their needs. It is futile for the developing countries to aspire to the standard of living of the affluent nations. This is neither possible (owing to sheer lack of resources) nor is it desirable owing to the disastrous psychological, spiritual and even material effects of excessive affluence and consumerism. Hence it is imperative that each developing country should undertake the important exercise of setting its own goals in regard to housing, transportation, health, education, etc., goals that will aim at providing a higher quality of life for the majority, not comfort for the few.

3. *Thirdly*, it is absolutely essential for developing countries to ensure proper distribution of goods and services within their own populations, i.e., to promote national social justice. The ruling elites of these countries have no moral right to demand sharing and sacrifice on the part of the rich nations when they themselves are not prepared to do the same for the benefit of their own deprived masses.

4. *Fourthly* the developing countries should foster the norm of a small family through education and persuasion. They should however resist the typically elitist temptation of adopting drastic programmes of forced sterilization for the masses. The people will naturally react with fury against a measure which looks suspiciously like an attempt to find "a final solution" a la Hitler to the problem of the poor, i.e., eliminate them. India's recent experience provides vivid proof of hostile mass reaction to forced sterilization and the extent to which the whole population programme can be set back as a result.

India's Role

India has a special position in the world today. By its size, its economic potential and military power, its ancient culture, it is one of the major nations of the world. At the same time, the average income of its population places it among the poorest of the developing nations. However, India's poverty is not the result of lack of development. Indeed from the point of view of industry, availability of trained manpower and standard of education, India is one of the advanced countries of the world. Her poverty is due rather to her vast population and mostly to her failure to distribute the wealth she already possesses.

From the economic point of view, India stands midway between the developed and developing worlds. Her pattern of trade is becoming more and more similar to the developed countries, i.e., export of manufactured goods and import of raw materials. However, she still remains a major exporter of primary commodities like tea, iron ore, jute, coffee. It is in India's interest therefore to act as a bridge between the rich and the poor countries to ensure that both primary commodities and manufactured goods are fairly priced and their prices are so linked to each other that they rise and fall together. India should, therefore, endeavour to bring about compromises between the rich and the poor. Nevertheless, all should clearly see that our commitment lies with the poor, developing countries. Justice and decency, not to mention our own self-interest, require this.

India has been one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. The movement now comprises a group of 115 nations most of whom are among the poor, developing countries. The movement has grown in influence in the course of the last 25 years and is now one of the major associations of nations in the world. This she should use in order to foster collective self-reliance and regional cooperation among the non-aligned nations. Actually India can play an important role in bringing about greater collective self-reliance among developing countries. With her own industrial advancement, her experience in overcoming the difficulties inherent in economic planning and progress, the similarities between her own past situation and that of the other developing nations and her acknowledged competence in the intermediate technology which is more suited to developing countries, India is in an excellent position to assist the economic advancement of her non-aligned partners by helping them to establish industries and promote agricultural growth. In this respect it is most encouraging to note the way in which this country has seized the economic opportunities opening up in Afro-Asian countries to her own advantage and to that of the countries concerned.

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ALTERNATIVE WORLD MODELS

(SOME PERPLEXITIES ABOUT SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION)

BY BISHOP PAUL GREGORIOS

A native of Kerala, Paul Gregorios is a Bishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church. He is Principal of the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Kottayam, Kerala. He formerly served as Associate General Secretary of the World Council of Churches and is the author of "The Joy of Freedom" and "Freedom and Authority".

This is a pleasant though dangerous game, this playing with world order models. The Club of Rome has made the game popular. Their first report on *Limits to Growth* (1972) and then their new Gospel of Z.P.G. plus Z.E.G. (Zero Population Growth plus Zero Economic Growth) as the only option left for humankind have now become more academic curiosities than authentic world models. *Mankind at the Turning Point* (1974—The Club of Rome's Second Report), while more sure and balanced, yet provided no blue-print for the world of the year 2000. By the time the Club of Rome came to its third major meeting in Algiers last autumn, they had practically abandoned the game of world models and of cybernetic prophecy. The Leontieff Report and the Tinbergen Report now before the U.N. use a more ad hoc, problem-solving approach in preference to a model-building approach. They are both refusing to play the game of world order models.

To what extent are we justified in building world order models at all? Only to the extent to which they can illuminate the way we have to move ahead from where we are. We do not build human societies from whole cloth. Most of the time we can only do maintenance and repairing; even remodelling is beyond our reach. Humanity is not metal and cement out of which reinforced concrete can be shaped to order. Human engineering is so totally different from civil engineering that it is quite perilous to apply the principles of the latter to the former.

To deal with human beings as if they were merely commensurable units of production and distribution seems one of the fundamental follies of our unimaginatively metric minds and our woodenly cybernetic imaginations. Social structure is more than an aggregation of individuals as the family is more than a contract between individuals. Human freedom is the element that makes human beings different from sheep or goats. In many ways human beings do behave like sheep and goats, but there are times when they assert their freedom and refuse to be led. Human beings are also different from snakes and foxes in their greater capacity for deception as well as for self-deception

The perspectives offered by Bishop Gregorios in this article were originally presented by him at a 1977 New Delhi Conference on Human Development and Global Interdependence, co-sponsored by Global Education Associates and the All India Association of Christian Higher Education (A.I.A.C.H.E.). The article has also been published in A.I.A.C.H.E.'s journal, New Frontiers in Education, Vol. VII, No. 2, Delhi, (April - June, 1977). It appears in The Whole Earth Papers in only slight variation from its publication in India, with permission of the author and New Frontiers in Education.

But then it is equally misleading to regard human beings as simply individuals. We are all prone to this characteristic middle class temptation. Even a most benign and erudite prophet like Abraham Maslow falls into this middle-class or bourgeois error of seeing human development primarily as individual personal development. His hierarchy of needs as diagrammed in Gerry and Pat Mische's new book[1] suffers from the distortion that the individualist optique supplies. Even when they speak of the meta-needs including the concept of "integral unity with the Great Self" or realization of the "God Within," the old fallacy of the "alone with the alone" as the scenario of mystical union shows through. To quote the Misches' version of Maslow's theory: "Highly self-actualized persons are highly individualized in the development of their uniqueness as persons and by the very same process of deeper inwardness share deeper unity and harmony with all other persons and the whole of life." [2]

So long as we keep individual models like Jesus, Gandhi and King as our goal for human development, we are likely to remain within the individualist strait jacket even in our effort at bonding, coupling, unity with all, and search for global structures. Both Maslow and the Misches admit that we "need a healthy social framework within which to become—individually and as a species—all that we can be". But they do not always see that social framework as more than an instrument. It is itself the expression of what human beings are, and human beings cannot afford to conceive the social structure as merely instrumental to personal growth and development. The social structure is part of what human beings are. They do not exist apart from it or independently of it.

an orientation. When we actually get nearer to the goal, it might look quite different, because what we are doing is actually restructuring ourselves. The human person is not an object, but a subject.

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My second point is to refer to a possible error or fallacy in our conception of the role of governments, both in national and global visions. It is not simply the question of the National Security State, which is indeed a very illuminating concept helping in a fresh understanding of the problem.

There was a time when the symbol of the state was the sword and the sceptre. Today it is bureaucracy, the desk, the office, the chair of authority, the board, the committee. But bureaucracy is by no means a monopoly of the state. We all have our little bureaucracies, and perhaps the most powerful bureaucracies are the industrial bureaucracies, most of them privately controlled. They possess the power of production and distribution. We have thus to cope with two sets of bureaucracies—one governmental and the other private, related to industrial production and distribution. Even the churches have built up their own strong bureaucracies in imitation of the industrial bureacracies.

The fallacy in our thinking is our assumption that the Government bureaucracy controls the other bureaucracies and other citizens as well. We presume that the government is an umpire between the various power forces

To deal with human beings as if they were merely commensurable units of production and distribution seems one of the fundamental follies of our unimaginatively metric minds and our woodenly cybernetic imaginations.

I am not sure that the point I am making in this first part of my talk is sufficiently clear. First, human engineering or the shaping of human society should not be seen on the analogy of civil engineering. We do not make a blue-print, specify measures and materials, and construct a global society as if it were a bridge or a dam. The human material cannot be objectified and manipulated as if they were building materials for a house or a school. Second, social structure, whether familial, local, national or global, is not an instrument subsidiary to human development. Social structures are not things to be objectified, computerized or manipulated. They are part of human existence. Change in social structure is change in the social being of humanity and not merely ancillary to it. A human being is not an individual who grows into an adult and then seeks relationships with others. It is in that relationship that he or she is shaped and that relationship and its structure is part of his or her very being. Social values are the matrix of, and not an appendix to, personal values.

Making the good society is thus not a simple act of making something out there, outside of ourselves. A global system or a human world order means a new kind of humanity. It is not to be constructed as something like a house or even as a voluntary association. It is a corporate self-disciplining of humanity by itself. Such self-disciplining involves setting visions of a new goal, and setting one's mind and heart and will to pursue that goal. It is in the sense of seeing a vision that we can think of world order models. It has the value primarily of motivating people and giving them

in the country. The fact of the matter is that the industrial bureaucracies have immense power, enough power to resist the power of the governmental bureaucracy and sometimes to control it substantially.

This problem has its implications for a Global World Order. If there is a global world order today, which has its own bureaucracy, this World Order bureaucracy will have to function in the context of

(a) other powerful national government bureaucracies
(b) the big bureaucracies of the Transnational Corporations
(c) the cartels of parallel private bureaucracies in the nations who are organizing themselves internationally now.

It is at this point that we have to take a fresh look at the concept of dependence, independence and interdependence. The slave is dependent on the master, but the master is also dependent on the slave. In this situation however, the interdependence is based on an unjust relation in which the power is unevenly distributed. In this situation, interdependence is to be avoided, and independence is to be striven for. Interdependence in a relation of injustice is unjustifiable. The colonial relation is typically one of interdependence. The relation between the countries exporting manufactured goods and those exporting primary commodities is also one of interdependence, but it is not

on that ground to be justified. Interdependence among unequal partners is not to be encouraged at all.

Interdependence without justice stands condemned. A world order model that puts the demands of interdependence before the demands of justice also for that reason stands condemned. The point is recognized by most people, but is often overlooked in some discussions.

This is precisely the issue between the developmentalists and the liberationists in the current world discussion. In Latin America, where the pattern of dependence of many economies on the North American economy is obvious, developmentalism means the ideology of the exploiter, who wants the victim of injustice to develop and produce more, in order that the exploiter can appropriate larger and larger shares of the labour of the dependent economies. The priority in such a situation is not either for development as such or for world orders of interdependence, but for genuine independence, and for the forgoing of healthy economic relations following liberation and independence.

But the problem is not simply between national economies. Even within each economy, there is a pattern of interdependence between the Government machinery and the production-distribution machinery which operates for the mutual benefit of the people who control the two machineries, but often to the detriment of the interests of the people of the nation whom the two machineries are supposed to serve.

Our situation in India is not only in terms of the National Security strait jacket but also in terms of the interdependence between the governmental bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of production and distribution. A small but significant part of the latter is controlled by the former. But we know that the Private-sector and its bureaucracy has a telling impact on the governmental machinery.

The fundamental logic of this partnership is personal or group self-interest; but the argument often used to justify privilege and freedom from criticism may be the *national security logic*. Internal dangers or external threats, real or imagined, can be used by the alliance of the two bureaucracies to reinforce their own positions of power and privilege.

Their mutual interdependence, which may work to the mutual benefit of the people involved in the two subsystems, however, leaves 60% of the nation very much at a disadvantage. We have the heavy defense expenditure syndrome, with concern for balance of weapons, balance of payments, and scarcity of resources, but that does not make "National Security State" an adequate term to describe our situation. Our problem is that the people are powerless.

This situation can be duplicated at the world level by any premature emergence of a world order. The world order if conceived as an economic reality, has already emerged, with its own bureaucracy, committees, conferences, trade agreements, aid arrangements and all the rest of the paraphernalia of interdependence. The whole point of the current debate is that this economic order is unjust, and hence the cry for a *new* international economic order. The new international economic order will involve a new global arrangement for division of labor, new terms of trade, new controlling mechanisms etc.

If the "world order" that is being talked about is a political order whose intended purpose is to regulate the emerging economic order in the interests of justice, it is of course to be commended. But the risk is that the economically powerful will dominate the political world order to the extent that they may use it not only to bolster up the unjust economic order, but also to enhance the efficiency and the strength of an exploitative system. The powerless, instead of becoming empowered, may become even more powerless and helpless with the emergence of a world order. It is admitted that the global arena is today largely jungle territory, without grace or government. But simply by giving the jungle into the more ordered control of the lions and the tigers, the weaker animals may not be able to achieve any greater security.

I have already spoken about the role of government. Government is not the nation. In India we are in desperate need of realizing that the Government can solve only some of our problems. India is people. Who represents the people in a world order framework? Can we leave it to the governments alone? Especially if the governments are in league with feudal aristocracies or industrial bureaucracy? Who would make sure that the people's interests are not trampled upon or overlooked in world order parleys, in favour of the interests of one or more privileged groups in the nations? The world order that emerges must have direct participation of the people, and that is a machinery that is quite cumbersome to evolve.

The Misches, for this reason, stress throughout their book *the importance of the people* becoming involved from the very beginning—at the level of conceptualization, conscientization, mobilization, politicization, social transformation and ongoing world order structures. Neither Governments nor elitist private organizations can do it, singly or jointly. Even Government bureaucracy, industrial bureaucracy, and trade union bureaucracy together cannot achieve anything. But *"the people"* in the abstract or in tokenist moves, can be a deceptive smoke-screen for an elite force using "populist" emotions to achieve their own goals or to reinforce their own privileges.

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My third point relates to the values in an emerging world order. A good starting point for reflection is Richard Falk's fourfold valuational system:

> V_1 — the minimization of large scale collective violence (my catchword, peace and disarmament)
>
> V_2 - the maximization of social and economic well-being (my catchword—human development)
>
> V_3 — the realization of fundamental human rights and of conditions of political justice (my catchword, *rights and justice)*
>
> V_4 — the maintenance and rehabilitation of ecological quality. (my catchword, ecological sustainability)

Falk's book gives an additional list of values which have to do with the quality of human life and the full realization of the human potential, but he does not believe that these fall properly within the purview of Government. Falk as a classical liberal, sees the role of government as minimal, and would therefore regard the four sets of values as adequate as far as World Order Models are concerned. Falk

also points out that these values come into conflict with each other. The demands of justice may come into conflict with the demands for peace and disarmament. The demands of economic well-being may come in conflict with the demands of ecological sustainability. In different situations value weightings will have to be decided on an ad hoc basis. Quite often some values will have to be sacrificed in order to protect others which seem more "valuable" in the situation.

Falk then proposes a new measuring rod for human development, different from the usual GNP criterion. It is to index these values. That is, the optimum would be 500 points for each of the 4 values, thus positing a total of 2000 on V_1 to V_4. There will be a calculus of negative and positive indicators for value achievements, and a good society is one that has come to 300 points in each of the four values. The World Order will then have to assess all the states and see how the average stands for the whole world.

One cannot judge a society by the criterion of how many great saints or moral heros it has produced. A more dependable criterion is what happens to the awareness of ordinary people, their purposes and aspirations.

This is a very practical solution in which there is much to commend. We are desperately in need of Quality of Life Indicators that are objectively ascertainable, and any help in this direction is to be welcomed. The question,however, is whether these are the only four sets of values about which a government should be concerned. Prof. Falk, a confessed libera:, believes that the least Government is the best government, and that other values like harmony, joy, creativity and freedom should be fostered non-governmentally. (*A Study of Future Worlds, p. 31*)

Here is the major difficulty. Can we delineate the realm of Government effort from that of the people's effort so neatly? We are in danger of much confused thinking at this point. In India we distinguish between the Public Sector and Private Sector. What the Government does is supposedly public, and what the people do is supposedly private. But this is patently false. The relation between what the Government does and what the people do cannot be so neatly separated. Government has to be an enabler for the people to achieve values which are commonly held by the people. Government work,when alienated from the people, becomes disastrous to the nation.

Let me now speak as a Christian. From the perspective of my Christian understanding of reality, I have always to deal simultaneously with two sets of values—one set of personal and community values, and another set of political, economic and social values. The second value set can be undergirded by State legislation, by state-controlled rewards and punishments and can be built into national planning. In this category are the four sets of values noted by Falk. These values are always provisional and change from time to time in the course of history. The personal and community values are mainly for voluntary groups; they cannot be legislated. For a Christian these values are love, joy, peace, toughness, gentleness, goodness, trustworthiness, modesty and self-restraint. Gal. 5: 22-23 lists these as the fruit-singular of the Spirit. I would add at the top of this list, from Eastern Biblical-perspective, the value of "freedom", and make it a round 10. I would add that all these values have a personal and community dimension. Communities can be tough, gentle, good, trustworthy, self-restrained etc.

But we should also look at the other side of the coin. True, Gandhism flourished under capitalism. Martin Luther King flourished in the American system. But is it not also true that neither of the two movements has managed to strike roots in the society in which it arose, precisely because the socio-economic structure was inimical to its values? It is one thing to throw up an occasional Gandhi or a King, and quite another to have their values more enduringly embodied in the structure of society. There may be no role at all for a Gandhi or a King in a society which is free, just, and racially integrated. One cannot judge a society by the criterion of how many great saints or moral heros it has produced. A more dependable criterion is what happens to the awareness of ordinary people, their purposes and aspirations. It is in this sense that I insist that value-orientation has to be built into the system of production and distribution. In India we are still in a situation where we try with increasing ineffectiveness to superimpose a set of altruistic values over an economic system which engenders and promotes the values of greed and acquistiveness.

But then what is the relation between Falk's values V_1 to V_4 and this list of ten personal and community values? Can we leave all these latter things entirely to the "private sector"? I submit that such a division is hardly tenable. The value system of a society is neither an epiphenomenon to the system of production and distribution; nor can it be seen as an upper floor *constructed* on the ground floor of economic relations and not something constructed on top of the relations of production and distribution. The challenge for human social structure today is to *construct* a system of production and distribution which will *generate* and sustain the desired value-system. This means that the value-orientation has to be built into the system of production and distribution. Power and profit is one value-orientation for economic relations. Social development of the people is another value orientation. This is a basic historic choice. It seems most nations are today choosing a percentage of both together. What we in India call a "mixed economy" (unfriendly critics call it the mixed up economy) is a reality in all societies. Even those societies which strike a radically socialist pose, e.g. China and Tanzania, have at the same time to pay attention to power and profit for the nation. In fact recent changes in China point to the pressure for a more pragmatic power-and-profit-oriented line suppressing the more clearly socialistic, ideological orientation. In the Soviet Union, power-and-profit incentives are used even to coax the individual peasant and factory worker. One can arrange the various nation-states of the world on a scale of a mixture of different proportions of the two basic motivations. The main point is that value-orientation cannot be tacked on to a system of production and distribution.

But is it not true that in a basically capitalistic system, where the fundamental orientation is for power and profit, one still sees other values fluorishing despite the pressure of the system? Is it not a fact that Gandhism can flourish under the umbrella of capitalism, to take one concrete example? Did not Martin Luther King spring out of a system in which the basic relations of production were power-and-profit oriented?

We need at this point to recognize once again the factor of human freedom which often blossoms in the mud

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Despite the fact that the majority of peoples of the world still live in other universes, their world-views have had little say in forging the present state of affairs.

Alternatives To 'Modern' Culture

by RAIMUNDO PANIKKAR

The subject-matter of philosophical speculation is not a separate entity but reality as such, in its deepest dimension. Today human reality is split up into various cultures and subcultures of which the sociologically dominant are: (a) the *Technological Civilization*, (b) the *Pan-economic System* and (c) what is popularly called the *Western Way of Life*.

Due to historical and practical reasons, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are, by and large, forced to adopt the main categories and/or the basic assumptions of these three cultural patterns as the only means for survival and even for any possible interaction with the other countries of the world. These patterns have generally been accepted by the leading political minorities without sufficiently taking into account the far-reaching consequences of such concessions, and without considering whether there are other possible alternatives for a world order. In a word, this threefold pattern seems to constitute the unchallenged framework for dialogue and interaction.

Fundamental research is called for here. Indiscriminate adoption of methods alien to a culture will not produce (and are not producing) the expected results. Furthermore, even if these methods were successful, they would displace the deepest archetypes or break the basic patterns of other cultures—and lead to disruption and confusion. The world is today being confronted with a radical cultural diversity that was not the case when countries and civilizations lived in relative isolation. But even if some uniformity were shown to be necessary or unavoidable, the substitution of one set of fundamental myths by another should be carefully considered in order to avoid unnecessary traumas and possible boomerang reactions. The other cultures of the world may indeed have to give way to 'modernity', but we cannot assume from the very beginning that there is no other alternative. To leave the problem unexamined or to neglect to offer a platform where the question can be set in complete freedom without the threat of unpleasant repercussions, would amount to falling prey to a subtle form of neo-colonialism. Perhaps the western countries, having gone further along the road of 'modernity' are more sensitive to alternatives than young nations, which desperately need to attain a certain economic stability and aspire to assert themselves on the international scene. In brief, a universal human participation is necessary. We can no longer approach the issue without drawing on the global human experience including east and west, north and south.

The political bodies of the world, engulfed by *urgent* problems, have no time to direct their attention to the more *important* issue of whether we are moving in the right direction. Philosophical bodies and academicians are for the most part so divorced from decision-making agencies that they often become lost in merely abstract elucubrations. UNESCO seems to be an appropriate meeting place for such a study, which should have, on the one hand, the 'objective' distance and non-attachment to enable it to deal with ultimate problems and, on the other hand, the necessary proximity to today's pressing concerns so that it bears the responsibility for the practical implementation of its findings. Most studies dealing with these subjects do not take a cross-cultural perspective and rarely transcend the economic, political, sociological and scientific levels. Important as these are, they may not be sufficient in the search for radical alternatives.

It is still too soon to delineate specific topics of study or lines of action, a task which in itself requires a preparatory conference. One might add that on such basic questions no single person or culture can be deemed to possess a complete awareness of the problem, let alone its solution. The clarification of the issues involved has to emerge from dialogue and common study. As an indication, however, of areas that could be tackled, we propose the following:

(a) *The Technological Civilization* not only assumes a particular conception of Man and human society but also presupposes certain notions of 'matter', 'time', 'energy', 'human life' and the like, which are far from being held — rightly or wrongly — by other cultures. One should first of all analyze such basic notions. Secondly, a critical study of these concepts is needed to see how they could be either adopted by non-western civilizations, or transformed and eventually substituted by more adequate ones. Thirdly, one should analyze the extent to which technological civilization offers a universal pattern for human living-together.

(b) *The Pan-economic System*, has translated practically every human value into economic terms, so that in point of fact the economic factor stands not only at the basis but also at the top of all human endeavor. Is not the very expression 'Third World' — defined using an exclusively economic scale, overlooking many other fundamental differences—a clear proof of this? Other cultures—again for good or ill—do not share this economic standard of value. Now, in the encounter with money-oriented civilizations (be they capitalist or socialist), these other cultures are powerless and cannot interact with them if they do not begin by accepting the existing pan-economic order. Is money necessary for everything? Are there any viable alternatives to this system or must we monetize these other non-western traditions so that they too can have their say?

(c) *The Western Way of Life*, and in particular the Anglo-Saxon ethos and the Russian-socialist model, has constituted the main source of inspiration for the current world order. Here we are re-

ferring to a frame of mind more than to some other kind of domination. Now, despite the fact that the majority of peoples of the world still live in other universes, their world-views have had little say in forging the present state of affairs. But we cannot start history as if from the zero point. We have to begin from our present situation, and it may be that the non-western cultures have little to contribute to the shaping of the future, but we cannot assume this *a priori*. Further, the very way of diagnosing the current situation is basically western. The dilemmas of God versus Atheism, dictatorship versus democracy, individual versus society, technology versus starvation, to name only a few, could serve as examples. Perhaps there is no universal language for our times other than dialectics, but this too should be examined. We cannot consider the cultures of Asia, Africa and Latin America as mere appendices or at best correctives to the Western cultural pattern. It is the function and responsibility of the intellectual to seek radical alternatives and to present real possibilities, not only wishful utopias.

. . . . . .

Obviously, new methods of interpretation and understanding are needed, and through such efforts fundamental corrections to our present situation may emerge. Perhaps the findings of the preparatory conference could stress the complementary aspect of the cultures of the world, and a careful cross-cultural study could offer the possiblity of mutual fecundation and positive symbioses. But all this may also be the fruits of the encounter of the different world traditions when these traditions are given an opportunity to enter into a round table conference whose basic assumptions and rules of procedure are set not by one party, but by all of the participants. This alone implies formidable hermeneutical problems.

There is little need to emphasize the importance of such a project, which may cover a wide range of proposals, both theoretical and practical, regarding the creation of a just, truthful and pluralistic world order. Now, in this late if not last hour of world history, the dream of every time could become a real possibility. In such a time of stress the human spirit may be more prepared to take bold steps towards a truly liberated world. ■

Raimundo Panikkar, who has dedicated his life towards harmony in a pluralistic world, was born in two major religious traditions—Hinduism and Christianity. Currently he divides his time between work in India and the United States, where he is a professor of comparative and religious studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Mr. Panikkar has written twenty-six books and hundreds of articles on topics related to philosophy, comparative religion and India.

Legacy for the Future: Indian Voices

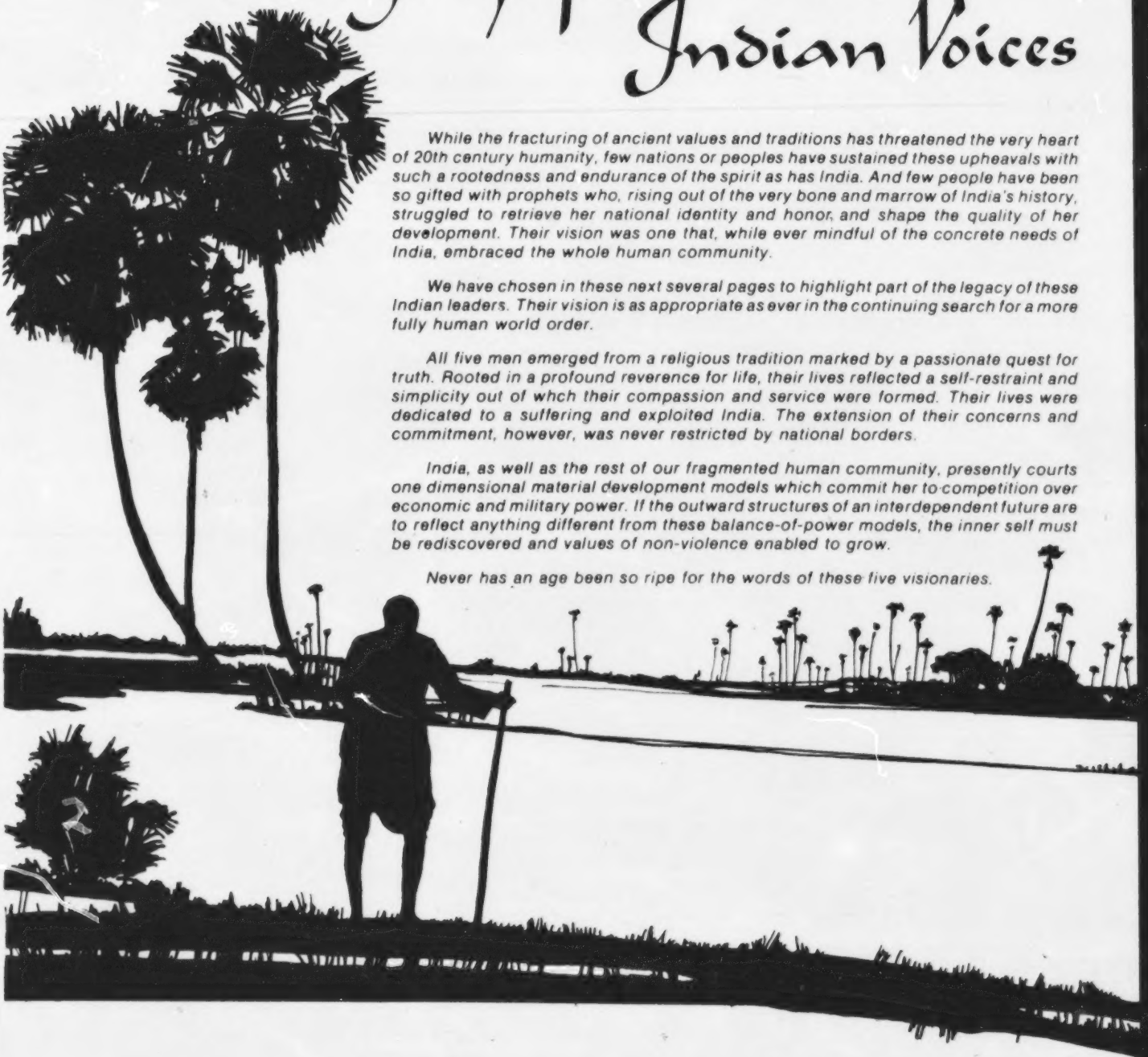
While the fracturing of ancient values and traditions has threatened the very heart of 20th century humanity, few nations or peoples have sustained these upheavals with such a rootedness and endurance of the spirit as has India. And few people have been so gifted with prophets who, rising out of the very bone and marrow of India's history, struggled to retrieve her national identity and honor, and shape the quality of her development. Their vision was one that, while ever mindful of the concrete needs of India, embraced the whole human community.

We have chosen in these next several pages to highlight part of the legacy of these Indian leaders. Their vision is as appropriate as ever in the continuing search for a more fully human world order.

All five men emerged from a religious tradition marked by a passionate quest for truth. Rooted in a profound reverence for life, their lives reflected a self-restraint and simplicity out of whch their compassion and service were formed. Their lives were dedicated to a suffering and exploited India. The extension of their concerns and commitment, however, was never restricted by national borders.

India, as well as the rest of our fragmented human community, presently courts one dimensional material development models which commit her to competition over economic and military power. If the outward structures of an interdependent future are to reflect anything different from these balance-of-power models, the inner self must be rediscovered and values of non-violence enabled to grow.

Never has an age been so ripe for the words of these five visionaries.



INSIGHTS FROM GANDHI, TAGORE, NEHRU, VINOBA BHAVE AND SRI AUROBINDO

MOHANDAS GANDHI

(1869-1948)

Although he himself never served in a political office, Gandhi was one of the prime movers in India's struggle for independence. The entire scope of his political and social reform was shaped by his religious search for truth and non-violence, and by his ideal of the self-reliance and moral development of the people of India.

If we are to be nonviolent, we must then not wish for anything on this earth which the meanest or the lowest of human beings cannot have.

– *With Gandhiji in Ceylon, 1928*

I would say to my critics to enter with me into the sufferings, not only of the people of India but of those, whether engaged in the war or not, of the whole world. I cannot look at this butchery going on in the world with indifference. I have an unchangeable faith that it is beneath the dignity of man to resort to mutual slaughter. I have no doubt that there is a way out.

– *Hindustan Standard, July 20, 1944*

Ahimsa is soul-force and the soul is imperishable, changeless and eternal. The atom bomb is the acme of physical force and, as such, subject to the law of dissipation, decay and death that governs the physical universe. Our scriptures bear witness that when soul-force is fully awakened in us, it becomes irresistible. But the test and condition of full awakening is that it must permeate every pore of our being and emanate with every breath that we breathe.

But no institution can be made nonviolent by compulsion. Nonviolence and truth cannot be written into a constitution. They have to be adopted of one's own free will. They must sit naturally upon us like next-to-skin garments or else they become a contradiction in terms.

– *The Last Phase, II, circa 1947*

Though there is repulsion enough in Nature, she *lives* by attraction. Mutual love enables Nature to persist. Man does not live by destruction. Self-love compels regard for others. Nations cohere because there is mutual regard among individuals composing them. Some day we must extend the national law to the universe, even as we have extended the family law to form nations—a larger family.

– *Young India, March 2, 1922*

There is no limit to extending our services to our neighbors across State-made frontiers. God never made those frontiers.

– *Young India, March 10, 1920*

I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually and those that surround him suffer. I believe in *advaita*. I believe in the essential unity of man and for that matter of all that lives.

— *Young India, December 4, 1924*

Immediately the spirit of exploitation is gone, armaments will be felt as a positive unbearable burden. Real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another.

– *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*

I would not like to live in this world if it is not to be one world.

– *Speech, March, 1947*

I believe that true democracy can only be an outcome of nonviolence. The structure of a world federation can be raised only on a foundation of nonviolence, and violence will have to be totally given up in world affairs.

– *Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44*

Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously nonviolent. It is a blasphemy to say that nonviolence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.

– *Harijan, November 12, 1938*

Duties to self, to the family, to the country and to the world are not independent of one another. One cannot do good to the country by injuring himself or his family. Similarly one cannot serve the country injuring the world at large.

— *The Diary of Mahadev Desai*

My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which ought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always, in every case without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large.

— *Young India, April 4, 1929*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(1886 - 1941)

Tagore reflected a passionate love for individual and national freedom. Social reform was at the heart of his writing. Tagore was first and foremost a poet and philosopher who believed that India's greatest contributions were to the world of the spirit. In 1913, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.

We are beginning to discover that our problem is world-wide, and no one people of the earth can work out its salvation by detaching itself from others. Either we shall be saved together or drawn together into destruction.

This truth has been recognized by all the great personalities of the world. They had in themselves the perfect consciousness of the undivided spirit of man. Their teachings were against tribal exclusiveness, and thus we find that Buddha's India transcended geographical India and Christ's religion broke through the bonds of Judaism.

Today, at this crucial moment of the world's history, cannot India rise above her limitations, and offer the great ideal to the world that will work towards harmony and co-operation between the different people of the earth? Men of feeble faith will say that India requires to be strong and rich before she can raise her voice for the sake of the whole world. But I refuse to believe it. That the measure of man's greatness is in his material resources is a giant illusion casting its shadow over the present-day world—it is an insult to man. It lies in the materially weak to save the world from that illusion, and India, in spite of her penury and humiliation, can afford to come to the rescue of humanity.

– *Correspondence with C.F. Anderson, 1921*

The sunlight of love has the freedom that ripens the wisdom of immortal life; but passions can only forge fetters for ourselves. The Spiritual Man has been struggling for its emergence into perfection, and every true cry for freedom is for this emancipation. Creating barricades of fierce separateness, in the name of national necessity, is offering hindrance to it. Therefore in the long run it is building a prison for the nation itself. For the only path of deliverance is in the ideal of humanity.

From now onward, any nation which takes an isolated view of its own country will run counter to the Spirit of the New Age, and know no peace. From now onward, the anxiety that each country has for its own safety must embrace the welfare of the world. In this morning of the world's awakening, if only in our own national striving there is no response to its universal aspiration, that will betoken the poverty of our spirit. I do not say for a moment that we should belittle the work immediately at hand. But when the bird is roused by the dawn, all its awakening is not absorbed in the search for food. Its wings respond unweariedly to the call of the sky, its throat pours forth song for joy of the new light. Universal humanity has sent us its call today. Let our mind respond with its own language, for response is the only true sign of life.

– *Ethics of Destruction, 1921*

I feel that a new age is upon us. For a long time the guidance of civilization was in the hands of man. While he was building up its political, economic and social structure, woman remained in obscurity, busy with her household duties. This is a one-sided civilization in which the riches of the human heart have suffered an eclipse. In this exclusively man-made civilization lack of harmony constantly threatens it with a calamitous end; . . . violent earthquakes shake the foundations of the old order. The causes of its disruptions have been accumulating for ages; nothing can stop its disintegration. It is a matter for great reassurance, however, that at the end of an epoch, women everywhere are getting to take up the task of creating a new civilization.

In gradual degrees men became aware that the subtle intricacies of human experience find their perfection in the harmony of interdependence, never in the vigorous exercise of elbows by a mutually pushing multitude, in the arrogant assertion of independence which fitly belongs to the barren rocks and deserts grey with the pallor of death.

– *"Nari", an address written for the All Bengal Women Workers' Conference, 1936*

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action —
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

(from Gitanjali)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(1889 - 1964)

Shaped by the power of India's Revolutionary movement, Nehru became the first Prime Minister after her independence, a position he held until his death. One of this century's greatest statesmen, he initiated India's non-alignment policy in foreign affairs, and foresaw with great clarity the growing interdependencies of a new age.

The world of today hangs together, and it will survive or perish together. Only a world order of free nations co-operating together for the common good, and based on social justice, can solve the problems that overwhelm us

– *Toward Freedom*

National isolation is neither a desirable nor a possible ideal in a world which is daily becoming more of a unit. International and intranational activities dominate the world and nations are growing more and more interdependent. Our ideal and objective cannot go against this historical tendency, and we must be prepared to discard a narrow nationalism in favour of world cooperation and real internationalism.

– *Whither India?*

It is the fashion now to make light of constitutions. That is because in the absence of a world constitution—the central need of the time—interstate anarchy has produced such unemployment, war and dictatorship as to make constitutional government impossible in country after country.

– *A Bunch of Old Letters,* Asia Publishing House

Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

– *Presidential address at Lahore, December, 1929*

But the past does not exhaust our duty or obligation. We owe a duty to the future also and perhaps that obligation is even greater than the one we owe to the past. For the past is past and done with, we cannot change it; the future is yet to come, and perhaps we may be able to shape it a little. If the past has given us some part of the truth, the future also hides many aspects of the truth and invites us to search for it. But often the past is jealous of the future and holds us in a terrible grip, and we have to struggle with it to get free to face and advance towards the future.

– Last Letter to Indira, from *Glimpses of History,* August, 1933.

But a real internationalism is not something in the air without roots or anchorage. It has to grow out of national cultures, can only flourish today on a basis of freedom and equality and true internationalism.

– *The Discovery of India*

It was India's way in the past to welcome and absorb other cultures. That is much more necessary today, for we march to the One World of tomorrow where national cultures will be intermingled with the international culture of the human race. We shall therefore seek wisdom and knowledge and friendship and comradeship wherever we can find them, and co-operate with others in common tasks, but we are no suppliants for others' favors and patronage. Thus we shall remain true Indians and Asiatics, and become at the same time good internationalists and world citizens.

– *The Discovery of India*

That is the goal of India— a united, free, democratic country, closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow, exclusive independence. We believe that the day of separate warring national states is over...

We want to be completely free with no reservations or exceptions, except such as we ourselves approve, in common with others, in order to join a Federation of Nations, or a new World Order.

– *Toward Freedom*

When we talked of the independence of India, it was not in terms of isolation. We realized, perhaps more than many other countries, that the old type of complete national independence was doomed and there must be a new era of world co-operation. We made it repeatedly clear, therefore, that we were perfectly agreeable to limit that independence, in common with other nations, within some international framework. That framework should preferably cover the world or as large a part of it as possible, or be regional.

– *The Discovery of India,*

And so we have to labour and to work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

Nehru's speech to the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, Aug. 14, 1947

There had been much talk in the West of a Federation of Europe, and of a Federal Union which seemed to exclude India and China. I had dreamed of a wider federation, comprising all of the nations and peoples of the world.

– *Toward Freedom*

VINOBA BHAVE

(1895 -)

A close disciple of Gandhi, Vinoba inherited from his master the cloak of social and interior reform. Vinoba founded the Bhoodan (land-gift) movement. Walking across the face of India, he persuaded wealthy land owners to donate over 5,000,000 acres of land to the poor. With his emphasis on economic self-reliance and constant conversion of heart, Vinoba rekindled the legacy of Gandhi among the masses of India.

The world is hungering for peace. If we sink a well anywhere, the thirsty are bound to know about it, because they realize the need for water.

The question before you, therefore, is this. What special kind of work are you doing in your village, whereby you, as a citizen of the world, contribute something to the world? It is all right that you have your breakfast, you have your meals, you go to the movies and you look after your other personal interests quite well. But all these activities of yours are not going to give guidance to the world.

World citizenship is the only practical message that befits the age . . .

– Non-violence and a New World Order, Revolutionary Sarvodaya

It is absolutely safe to love the enemy.

– Non-violence and a New World Order, Revolutionary Sarvodaya

To regard a clod of earth, a stone and gold as of equal value is the basic principle of true economics.

– Random Reflections

All the inequality, all ideas of high and low, slavery and violence have originated chiefly from the economic sin of avoiding bodily labour. Children and the aged should not do physical work, students and teachers should not do it, the ailing and the ascetics should of course not do it, the employed and the unemployed should not do it, recluses and patriots should not do it, thinkers, propagandists and managers should not do it. If that is so, who is to do all the manual work? The ignorant and the helpless? Unless we overcome this dangerous state of affairs, no other theory, ideology, political system, pattern or structure would be of any avail.

– Dignity of Labor, Revolutionary Sarvodaya

True economics, true science of health, all "true" sciences tend to lead towards spiritual liberation.

– Random Reflections

It is easy to invent an idea to bring about world unity. But it is difficult to conquer anger in one's mind.

– Ethics, Revolutionary Sarvodaya

I fail to understand why observation of the world around should give rise to any fourth kind of feeling in oneself apart from these three, namely, respect, love, or compassion?

– Random Reflections

None except God is the owner of the land. We mortals can only be his children. And ours is to serve the mother-earth as best we can.

– Random Reflections

Sarvodaya "that capacity to see all beings with an equal eye" should not now be known as the highest type of devotion as it has been described in the *Gita*. It should be looked upon as a type of devotion that is practiced by all. Formerly, only some exceptional persons used to experience while in trance, that all created beings are his kith and kin, that all differentiation between them was unreal and must be done away with. But now everyone must learn to have this experience.

This indeed is the demand and need of the scientific age.

– Religion, Revolutionary Sarvodaya

Love of freedom to the extent that no one should rule over us is not much of a virtue at all. It is found among the animals also. He is a real lover of freedom, who feels that he himself also must not rule over others.

– Non-violence and a New World Order, Revolutionary Sarvodaya

We can be in a position of strength only when we have cast off all fear from our hearts and when we have love for the opponent. This is not idealism; it is the most practical and simple way. Practical wisdom and sagacity are behind it. The "theory of the Balance of Power" has been tried by the world for the last 200 years. But it has not created security or peace. It has only created the Hydrogen Bomb. We must have the courage to get out of the vicious cycle.

– Random Reflections

21 His God is lost to him who forgets that God resides in every living being.

– Random Reflections

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSE

(1872 - 1950)

Cast in the fires of Indian nationalism, Aurobindo emerged first as nationalist leader and then as a poet, philosopher and religious teacher. Abandoning political activities in 1910 when he was silenced by British rulers, Aurobindo established the Aurobindo Ashram (retreat) in Pondicherry where he developed a religious vision that would give direction eventually not only to the Indian people, but to followers from around the world.

His basic spiritual goal was to make the "truth dynamic in the human soul." His integral yoga was designed not to effect spiritual withdrawal from the world but for the purpose of transforming it.

. . . unification is a necessity of Nature, an inevitable movement. Its necessity for the nations is also clear, for without it the freedom of the small nations may be at any moment in peril and the life of even the large and powerful nations insecure.

The unification is therefore to the interest of all, and only human imbecility and stupid selfishness can prevent it; but these cannot stand for ever against the necessity of Nature and the Divine Will. But an outward basis is not enough; there must grow up an international spirit and outlook, international forms and institutions must appear, perhaps such developments as dual or multilateral citizenship, willed interchange or voluntary fusion of culture. Nationalism will have fulfilled itself and lost its militancy and would no longer find these things incompatible with self-preservation and the integrality of it outlook. A new spirit of oneness will take hold of the human race.

* * *

The ultimate result must be the formation of a World-State and the most desirable form of it would be a federation of free nationalities . . . A world-union of this kind would have the greatest chances of long survival or permanent existence. This is a mutuable world and uncertainties and dangers might assail or trouble for a time; the formed structure might be subjected to revolutionary tendencies as new ideas and forces emerged and produced their effect on the general mind of humanity, but the essential step would have been taken and the future of the race assured or at least the present era overpassed in which it is threatened and disturbed by unsolved needs and difficulties, precarious conditions, immense upheavals, huge and sanguinary world-wide conflicts and the threat of others to come. The ideal of human unity would be no longer an unfulfilled ideal but an accomplished fact and its preservation given into the charge of the united human peoples. Its future destiny would lie on the knees of the gods and, if the gods have a use for the continued existence of the race, may be left to lie there safe.

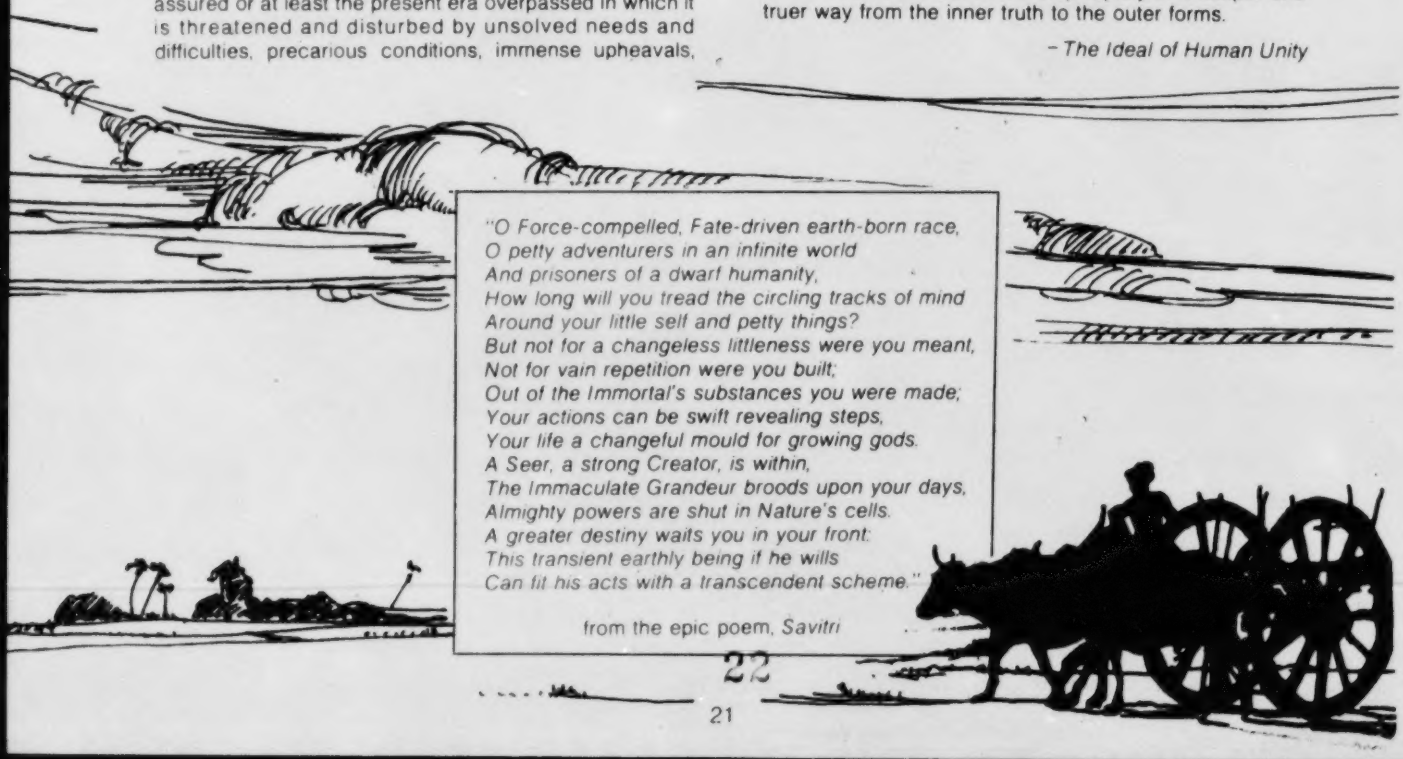
* * *

The indwelling deity who presides over the destiny of the race has raised in man's mind and heart the idea, the hope of a new order which will replace the old unsatisfactory order, and substitute for it conditions of the world's life which will in the end have a reasonable chance of establishing permanent peace and well-being.

* * *

A spiritual religion of humanity is the hope of the future. By this is not meant what is ordinarily called a universal religion, a system, a thing of creed and intellectual belief and dogma and outward rite. Mankind has tried unity by that means; it has failed and deserved to fail, because there can be no universal religious system, one in mental creed and vital form. The inner spirit is indeed one, but more than any other the spiritual life insists on freedom and variation in its self-expression and means of development. A religion of humanity means the growing realization that there is a secret Spirit, a divine Reality, in which we are all one . . . Could such a realization develop rapidly in a deeper and truer way from the inner truth to the outer forms.

– *The Ideal of Human Unity*



"O Force-compelled, Fate-driven earth-born race,
O petty adventurers in an infinite world
And prisoners of a dwarf humanity,
How long will you tread the circling tracks of mind
Around your little self and petty things?
But not for a changeless littleness were you meant,
Not for vain repetition were you built;
Out of the Immortal's substances you were made;
Your actions can be swift revealing steps,
Your life a changeful mould for growing gods.
A Seer, a strong Creator, is within,
The Immaculate Grandeur broods upon your days,
Almighty powers are shut in Nature's cells.
A greater destiny waits you in your front:
This transient earthly being if he wills
Can fit his acts with a transcendent scheme."

from the epic poem, *Savitri*

HUMAN FUTURE— EASTERN AND WESTERN

(Beyond One-Dimensional Development)

In this paper, when I talk about the Eastern and the Western view in relation to the future of humankind, it is not my intention to apply geographical limitations to such views or to state the differences in the viewpoints of people to the East or West of the Suez. Nor can such analysis be confined to the Marxian or the non-Marxian approach. For it is becoming increasingly obvious that there are such wide differences within one or the other approach that often in the process of moving away, they come closer to their own antithesis.

Nor can these differences be expressed in terms of religions. One reason is that most religions have had their origin in the East. In the final analysis if the conceptual, linguistic or environmental limitations are ignored, religions have a common objective—the ultimate future or the absolute future. All intermediate or transitory futures are inadequate due to "suffering and death." Most religions accept this future as the divine mode of being.

Also, as communication networks interconnect a village in the foothills of Mount Everest with another in the Arctic Circle they tend to unify the thought processes, the living habits, consumerist passions, hopes, dreams and concerns of otherwise entirely dissimilar people.

Therefore, when I talk of differences between the Eastern and the Western view, I do not mean racial or regional differences, the differences in the scriptures that people profess or do not profess, or the differences in the gross national product. What I really mean are the urges, motivations, patterns of concern and driving forces which spur individuals, groups or nations to action or inaction.

If one accepts this as the central criterion, it would be fair to say that all so-called advanced, affluent or networked (communication) people have been profoundly affected by the consumerist passion and are at various stages of the disease. The differences in stages depend upon the intensity of directed communication, individual and societal predispositions, and of course the question of time. When nations or people accept one-dimensional development and launch on the road to consumerism, and when such development becomes the driving force in their lives, then the differences between all such nations are largely in terms of the time they have travelled on the consumerist road. Dissimilarities, if any, are mainly superficial.

Stewardship for the Future

Scientists, technologists, leaders, teachers, saints and seers have for centuries projected human fate, dreams, aspirations and hopes and fears into the future. From Hindu and Arab astrology to the practices of the Tarot, the I Ching, and the teachings of great religions—all have been oriented toward the future.

The quality of life which the present generation enjoys or suffers is largely the legacy which earlier generations left for it. So when we talk of the future of humankind today, we are in fact commenting upon our own abilities to design an adequate future for the generations to come.

Fear of the future is largely due to our lack of confidence in the justice of our cause, the institutions that we uphold, the symbols and values that we have to offer, and above all, our subconscious awareness of the gross injustice of the order these institutions tend to support and perpetuate. The relative instability of the systems—national and international—that we live in is adding a new dimension to the fear psychosis.

The excessive use of resources and the abuse of the environment to maintain indigestive consumer societies at some points while famine conditions exist at others, both within the national and international system, is an unbalancing factor.

The sacrifices and suffering of one part of the human race to assure higher material rewards in another part, and the price paid in human terms to assure the continuity of the existing order of things, are all of little consideration in the one-dimensional approach to humankind's future.

One-Dimensional Development

One-dimensional development is that which primarily satisfies sensory needs. It is largely material development, and occurs when human intellectual and psychic capabilities are made subservient to such development. Such development is highly unstable and vulnerable because while subject to the laws of the four dimensional universe, it stands on a one-dimensional foundation.

PERSPECTIVES

by J. C. KAPUR

> Our analysis leads to the projections which tend to focus upon a world population leveling out near the end of the 21st century at about 10-28 billion with an average per capita income from $10,000 to $20,000 derived from a GNP of $100 to $300 trillion.
>
> Any reading of the future must be based on the evidence of the past and the present and on as careful an analysis of the likely future and issue as can be made.
>
> Contrary to what the others may say for all the above $300 trillion of world productivity, there will be no shortage of energy, resources, food.[1]

Those who have set their sights on the continued material growth of humankind are undeterred by the prognosis of the prophets of doom. They see humans riding the next 500 to 10,000 years toward their destiny at a speed approaching that of light and on material resources stripped from the moon, Mercury and Mars. They believe that humankind will populate space colonies and its lifesupport systems can be built around a controlled atmosphere extracted from iron ore and bauxite. Space colonists would construct and operate solar energy plants which would pay the cost of operating such colonies and supply cheap and forever power to the earth. All the materials of course would come from the other planets. Many believe that by the later part of the 22nd century, more people will be living in space than on earth.

This and other projections are being presented to stem the tide of growing fear and disillusionment about the

Fear of the future is largely due to our lack of confidence in the justice of our cause, the institutions that we uphold, the symbols and values that we have to offer, and above all, our subconscious awareness of the gross injustice of the order these institutions tend to support and perpetuate.

People like Herman Kahn and others are undeterred by the discontinuities of the world, the alienation of man from the environment and from God, the limitations of resources and the biosphere. They continue to build pathways to dream worlds of the 21st century—worlds of secular humanism, the institutionalization of scientific innovation and continuous economic growth.

Built around unstable assumptions and one-dimensional extrapolation of the present into the future, their scenarios lose their relevance as rapidly as they are constructed. They have not yet recognized the vulnerability of the technologies that they project into the future nor the ultimate meaning or goals of social systems and the consequences of alternative courses of action. Obviously qualitative changes in the social system or the bio-psycho changes in human beings or an altered relationship with society do not enter the vast arrays of growing quantitative or numerical assessments.

I quote without comment, Herman Kahn and William Brown:

> In this dawning phase of a new era, a new plateau of relative materiel abundance can be predicted as the common lot of mankind. Within the next century current U.S. and European standards of living could almost become a world norm in underdeveloped countries, give or take a factor or two.

abilities of science and technology to solve all problems. They assert that the course of natural events is determined by natural science. Russian communists believe that the course of social events is determined by the laws of social change as enunciated by Karl Marx. It is believed that as the natural sciences move on the course set by man, the social sciences will cast aside the hurdles of human limitations.

The Industrial Revolution was the starting point of one dimensional development for human beings. By the late 20th century, through a process of uncontrolled forward drive, this development has been accelerating toward a single pointed convergence. Human awareness of other dimensions are subsumed in the desire for material advancement.

Rachel Carson in *The Silent Spring*, through a devastating attack on human greed, carelessness and irresponsibility towards the environment, crossed the line of a single dimensional development perspective. The limits of a one-dimensional approach were brought home in the decade of the sixties through the Club of Rome's *The Limits to Growth* and Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* and scores of other publications which gave well deserved shock treatment to patients of the consumerist hypnosis.

The decade of the seventies has been a period of reassessment, of soul searching, a reappraisal of interests and strategies. Both the affluent and the starving are

bewildered by the intensity of the promotion of consumerist utopias and space colonies at one end and of the monsters of the National Security State and the fear of an uncontrolled drift towards a human catastrophe on the other.

Mankind at the Turning Point, the second report of the Club of Rome, while questioning the viability of unlimited economic growth, has endeavoured to lift some of the encircling gloom. It is not a document of optimism, nor is it an invitation to the maintenance of the status quo. It only says that some options for the rearrangement of the structure of unlimited waste and the elimination of the injustices of the past are still open and possibly attainable.

These warnings have not as of now encouraged processes for equitable and fair distribution and restraint, but have in fact set in motion processes for the pre-emption and control of worldwide resources so that the chill winds of poverty will not extinguish the consumerist passions of the affluent.

Unfortunately almost all the debate and most of the visions and intellectual effort presently concerns the invention, evolution and organization of techniques to initiate or to further accelerate processes towards higher levels of consumerism. Reason has been displaced by euphoria or despair or fear, and in this environment the only logic which seems to make an impression is the logic of force, the custodian of which is the National Security State.

This mobilizing force is substantially directed towards the maintenance of the status quo between nations and within nations; between the strong and the weak, and the affluent and the dispossessed. The beneficiaries of the system, their life style and their love stories have become the mythology of this secular religion and are projected in or out of place to satisfy and encourage the desires for a sweet life. Rituals are performed on the golf courses, country clubs, night clubs, late night shows.

But the greatest damage the one-dimensional development has done to human future is through the arrogance of the beneficiaries, the controllers and the protectors of such development. A message has gone home to millions of the dispossessed and their leaders, that to survive is to possess new technologies and new instruments of power. To develop is to control resources. To succeed is to subvert. Therefore, the criteria of development approaches are not based on the logic and limit of needs, nor on the appropriateness of different techniques in different situations. Rather, they are based on power and defense of the status quo in which hundreds of millions of have-nots must accept transplantations of techniques alien to their culture, education and resources; and a uniformity that comes by placing the imperatives of consumerism and National Security States above the future of human beings.

The specialization of disciplines and professions which led to the success of modern science and technology, have now become obstacles to dealing with the problems now faced by the world.

Fortunately, there is a beginning shift in scientific vision. Modern physics, beginning with Einstein's theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, particle physics and now quarks, has opened up new vistas in our perception of the universe, of space, time, and energy relationships.

> The further we penetrate into the submicroscopic world of subatomic particles, the more we realize how the modern physicist, like the eastern mystic, has come to see the world as a system of inseparable, interacting and ever moving components with man being an integral part of the system.[2]

Thus, Fritjof Capra provides a penetrating analysis of the essential harmony between the spirit of Eastern wisdom and Western science.

A French Jesuit, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, refused to accept that reflective consciousness—human being's greatest gift—was a mere accident thrown up by nature, totally unrelated to the structure of our universe. He all along endeavoured to integrate this human capacity with the phenomenon of evolution. In the great scientific, technological and social advances he detected symptoms that pointed to a rebound of evolution and the indication of a deep undertow which was to carry us to full development. Underlying all events he discerned the same basic trend:

> Progressive unification of mankind, intensification of collective consciousness, birth of socialized mankind, and finally, movement towards the convergent structure of evolution as it seeks out its cosmic centre. [3]

Teilhard's approach thus transcends ordinary technological approaches, placing in human hands a key to the next stage of the cosmic process.

However there was a flaw in Chardin's vision of how the future would be achieved:

> History and experience both insist that it is in the Western direction that we must guide the progress of life. We must know more and must be the masters of more . . . . . Individual nations, races and religions, everything will disappear tomorrow which has not today hazarded its soul on the road to the West.[4]

It was not only Chardin but also many in Asia who believed that the road to the material West was the road to progress. All the hopes and illusions of Teilhard and others started to disintegrate within a decade after the end of the Second World War. He had hoped perhaps in vain that "Every step in the material organization on the earth will also mean a simultaneous step in the psychic and spiritual domain to balance, humanize and complete it."

Perhaps another Frenchman, Jacques Ellul, was right when he questioned "the vanity to pretend that the monolithic technical world that is coming to be can be checked or guided."

It is hard to predict how Teilhard would have reacted to the dilemma of the West and the resurgence of the East at the threshold of the last quarter of the twentieth century, i.e., a few decades after his death. His highways to the future convergence of human consciousness and the tangible material world are littered with the decaying bodies of the victims of violence. They are highways conditioned not by rule of law nor by the individual or social mysticism of the East or West, but rather by a balance of terror under the growing compulsions of the foreign-exchange oriented, productive processes and resource-hungry, elitist economies.

Teilhard accepted all knowledge, its proliferation and its products as essential and inevitable outcomes of the

evolutionary processes. The Western life has committed itself to this road.

The tragedy is that the continuously disintegrating and fragmenting processes in the tangible world have set in motion similar processes in the human mind. This does not give hope that the energy of the tangible universe and an intensified spiritual energy will reach out towards convergence. And unless there is a miracle—and miracles do happen—every step forward on the material plane appears to be alienating humans from their environment, their fellow humans and their God.

Unless there is a miracle—and miracles do happen—every step forward on the material plane appears to be alienating humans from their environment, their fellow humans and their God.

This phenomenon is being manifested in a hundred different ways between man and man, between societies and between national states. Teilhard, however, kept his faith:

> that collective man through self imposed unification can survive this increasing compression from which there is no escape, only by a higher degree of self arrangement in his own structure.... It would be easier to halt the revolution of the earth than it would be to prevent the totalization of man.

Teilhard believed that through the development of a common vision, centration or intensification of consciousness could be achieved. The next stage in development would be the "spiritualization of humankind." By this he meant the increasing predominance in the human layer of the reflective (of thought) over automatic reaction. Therefore, to Teilhard, the intensification, the complexification and centration of scientific and development processes is one of the ultimate stages in the advancement of man and is a natural prelude to the spiritualization before his arrival at the ultimate and self-subsistence pole of consciousness, which would perhaps also be the Buddhist Nirvana or the Hindu Brahman.

The Upanishads remind us "one comes to be of just such stuff as that on which the mind is set."

If the works of art are any index, we are not approaching an era of material reintegration through the imitation of divine forms but are merely exhibiting our own disturbed modes of thought. The inaudible sound that art is making audible, the perceptible truths that are peeping through works of art, present images of another kind of world that is taking birth. These are not the images of spiritualization and disintegration. They do not appear to be converging to a point. They are drifting into a new kind of synthetic wilderness which corrupts the intellect and deadens the spirit. Everything around is deflating our illusions of progress.

Dualism helped the West to shed the burdens of restraint and discipline essential to holistic, multi-dimensional development, while it accelerated the processes of one-dimensional growth. It has at the same time retarded the continued evolution of a metaphysical base for science and an ethical framework for social institutions. Current images of growth and evolution were projected through symbolisms of power and prosperity. The resulting one-dimensional development has led to the emergence of the National Security State[5] and the consequent triple straitjacket of compulsion to pre-empt resources, and more sophisticated weaponry to assure continuity and to protect the vulnerable points of the system from intervention by others. What began largely as a Western phenomenon in the early part of this Century, has now assumed a worldwide dimension, taking in its orbit the affluent and the poor alike. Political, industrial and bureaucratic elites in the National Security States are concerned more with the present continuities than with the emergent future.

The growing awareness that the cost of Western style affluence—with the entire paraphernalia of a National Security State, in both resources and human terms, is getting beyond the reach of even the most affluent, gives some reason for hope. It may bring about many possibilities for global cooperation and the rearrangement of global institutions. But only when the physical sciences acquire a metaphysical dimension and dualism in Western thought retreats, will new institutions relevant to the future emerge. Similarly, the eastern philosophies, which have not yet totally lost the cosmic biological connection, must acquire a scientific base to attain relevance and assure social welfare. Only then will both the West and the East reach a world view and institutional structures consistent with the needs of the times. ■

Footnotes

1. Herman Kahn and William Brown, "And a Better Prospect for the Future," *Futurist*, December, 1975. Page 285.
2. Fritjof Capra, *Tao of Physics*
3. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Toward the Future*. Collins, Page 212-215.
4. Ibid.
5. Gerald and Patricia Mische, *Toward a Human World Order*, Beyond the National Security Straitjacket, Paulist Press, 1977.

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At any given moment we are free to choose to either expand or shrink. This in fact is the basic 'being' or metaphysical choice. It determines the quality of our consciousness and of our life.

SELF–RECOGNITION AND WORLD ORDER

We can look at the problem of creating a 'human world order' from two points of view — external and internal. According to the former, this question basically involves a complex of social, economic, and political issues. Evils such as untouchability, racial segregation, and the inequality of women must be abolished. There must be a just distribution of wealth. Much more needs to be produced if we all wish to live with dignity. The concept of absolute national sovereignty must go. Really effective international institutions have to be evolved.

by JINENDRA JAIN

The other approach to world order is philosophical and spiritual, more organic, if I may say so. Here the emphasis is on the expansion of the individual's awareness. Unjust institutions are not the causes but effects of a limited outlook. They are not divine dispensations to which we are 'condemned' but products of the human ego. Until there is a basic shift, a transformation in the consciousness of humanity, there will be no real peace. Moving institutions will be like moving pawns on a chessboard. We may alter positions but the context of injustice will persist. No matter what we do in this condition, nothing significant will be accomplished.

Both the views can be onesided and simplistic. It is obvious that one will be fruitless without the other. Changing institutions alone implies changing symptoms rather than tackling the disease. To talk about transformation of consciousness in absence of economic and political action, is to indulge in empty abstractions. We need to evolve wholistic perspectives, integrating the inner and the outer, if we are serious about real peace in our world.

However, in this paper, I intend to examine the philosophical and spiritual viewpoint, as emphasized in India through the centuries. The fundamental question of life is the question: "Who am I" or "What is the nature of Self?" As long as we do not become involved with this question, we remain subhuman, regardless of how much we produce and possess and spend. The quality of consciousness and of our life, whether we are dominated by a 'peace' or a 'power paradigm' depends on how wide or narrow our sense of self is. If 'self' to me merely implies a

body of certain dimensions, white or black or brown, male or female, with a set of specific needs, I will always tend to be in competition, in strife, with other 'selves'. No amount of exhortation in the form 'Love your neighbor as yourself' will ever really work. Therefore, expanding the idea of self is what is really needed.

This expansion occurs to a certain degree, in the natural course of things. When I enter into a relationship of love, I include another in my sense of self. That person's happiness becomes my happiness, that person's suffering is my suffering. I am willing to share 'my' things with my beloved and even work for her. As I have children, my 'self' further expands. I may not mind, in fact, may even enjoy sweating for my children and to a certain degree, my parents, and my brothers and sisters become parts of me and I find myself quite concerned about their well-being. Teachers, friends and colleagues move into my universe and begin to matter to me.

This process may keep enlarging and one's tribe, group, community, village, religious organization, nation, world and finally, all beings are included in self. This universality, according to Indian philosophy, is the highest goal of life, the final destination to reach, the summit of spiritual evolution. Krishna says in the Gita:

"One who sees Me everywhere and sees all in Me, I am not lost to him nor is he lost to Me." (VI, 30)

Such a one in the words of Shankracharya "sees that whatever is pleasant to himself, is pleasant to all creatures, and that whatever is painful to himself, is painful to all beings."

Who is Krishna? Krishna is Brahman, the Absolute; Ishvara, God. Brahman or Ishvara resides in the hearts of all creatures; He is the Self of everyone. In the Upanishads, when the question 'Who am I' is raised, the answer that is always given takes the form: 'I am That', 'I am Brahman'. 'That' or 'Brahman' or 'Self' has no fixed boundaries.

continually filled with joyous wonder. His compassion extends to all beings. He experiences harmony with the world.

The other is the state of bondage, of fragmentation, of imprisonment. In this state one sees everything as other, as a threat. One is alienated, lonely, agonized and frightened. In an extreme case one may become paranoid,feeling that others are out to rob them of possessions, of status, of success, of happiness. Others are experienced as only obstacles, "hell".

It is this all-inclusive Self which is celebrated in Indian philosophy. Swami Muktananda, a modern Indian saint, states the message that has been most significant in India through centuries:

> "Meditate on your Self.
> Honor and worship your Self.
> Kneel to your Self.
> God lives within you as you."

Another important feature of Indian philosophy is its insistence that at any given moment we are free to choose to either expand or shrink. We can infinitely widen ourselves to encompass everything in our embrace and thus experience universal love and joy. We can also contract and contract so that we feel like 'small', helpless, poor individuals who are shaped and controlled by powers too large for us. This in fact is the basic 'being' or metaphysical choice. It determines the quality of our consciousness and of our life.

If my training is directed toward making me a 'strong' individual, with my own desires and preference, then what is important is me, my self-assertion, my interests, my satisfaction or fulfillment. When I come into contact with others, it is me versus them. I have to compete, to excel, to win, to prove my worth. Even a love relationship is more like a contract or agreement which lasts as long as my needs are being met.

This is the inner basis for a new world order—more and more individuals expanding and operating in terms of 'my planet', 'my world', instead of just 'me', 'my family', 'my village', 'my state', 'my country'.

When I say 'I am Jinendra, born in India, 5'6" tall, brown, weighing 115 lbs., I delimit Self; I only describe a body, not Self. It is the body which has all these specifications while Self is that in which these specifications exist. Likewise, when I say 'I am clever', 'I am angry', 'I am a teacher of meditation', I again describe fixed self-images, not Self; because Self is neither clever, nor angry, nor a teacher; cleverness, anger and teaching are all emerging and existing in Self. Whenever I identify myself as this or that, I fixate or shrink myself, I become just this or that. When I am this particular person or that particular person, I have something to defend, something to fight for. But if I identify myself as Self with no limits, then I experience love for all. This is the profoundest psychological truth.

Kashmir Shaivism, a school of Indian tantric philosophy, talks about perfection or universality of I-awareness. In the imperfect I-awareness, I experience myself as less than who I really am — 'so-and-so'. In the perfect I-awareness, I experience myself as "everyone and everything". When I see "the whole universe as a mass of foam in the ocean of awareness", I am Siva, God or Supreme Creator. This is the state of liberation, of unitary awareness, of true freedom. One who is in this state is called a saint or a fully evolved human being. His heart is

As I get exposed to more and more people in my classes and workshops in this country, I find that this rigid, uncompromising idea of self is one main factor causing much pain and suffering. I talk about self-recognition — awareness of self which is not exclusive, which continually remains open and fluid. Whatever we identify ourselves with, that is what we become. We cling to a self-imposed sense of identity, defending and serving it with all our might. When we believe we are a particular body, we experience ourselves to be just that and only that. We become concerned about physical dimensions, about our looks and physical vigor. Dr. Maltz quotes the case of a woman who had a scar on her cheek. She was so identified with this ugliness that she thought of herself as only that — an unattractive face. She developed a shy, diffident and retiring life-style. One day a plastic surgeon fixed her cheek. The first time she looked at her face in a mirror after the operation, she was immediately transformed. Her innate confidence, loveliness and humor came back. This was one way of tackling the problem. Another, a spiritual way, would have been for the woman to realize that she was not the one with a scar on her cheek but the one in whom an event called 'a scar on her cheek' was happening.

Likewise, the fear of growing old and the fear of death are outcomes of confusing the body with me, confusing

Expansion of one's idea of self is inner transformation. It liberates universality, love and cooperation. Hatred, aggression and competition begin to be seen as forces which keep one petty and small. As long as we function from being petty and small, we will ruin the best of institutions.

what happens to the body with what happens to me. Who grows old? Who dies? Who is born? Birth, growth, decay and death — these are all phenomena occurring in self.

Many of us work ourselves out of being stuck in a sense of inferiority to get stuck elsewhere — a set of desires or instincts, a mode of thinking or feeling, a role, an attitude, a point of view, an ideology, system of belief or religion. As a result we find ourselves in familiar situations such as, 'This is the way I feel. If she feels differently, that's her problem. To me the way I feel is vital.' 'My religion is better than any other.' 'If only they could see what I see, they would be saved.' 'My sexual powers are failing. God, there must be something wrong.' And so on.

This brings me to a consideration of ego. Ego raises arbitrary walls, where there are no walls. It defines self as a definite entity. It separates and divides. For instance, land does not belong to anyone because nobody ever produced it; we find ourselves on already existing land when we are born. Then ego appropriates or misappropriates a tiny portion of it and claims 'it is mine' and raises ridiculous signs on beautiful hills: 'Private Property', 'No Trespassing'.

We have a little child, a darling daughter who we have named Karuna (Compassion). She is on the threshold of 'the terrible twos'. She gets into anything, plays with it, an throws it around. Like other parents, we find ourselves drumming the same stuff into her: 'Hey Karuna, this is Mommy's room', 'These are Daddy's things', 'Karuna should play with her toys'. Thus we are creating limits in an innocent mind where there are no limits.

Similarly, ego appropriates things as 'mine'. Before I pay for a car, it is not mine. Anything happening to it is not my concern. The moment I pay for it, it becomes mine. If it breaks down, I am upset as though I had broken down. If somebody else needs it I think hard before I lend it, weighing the risk involved. When I use it, I'm not worried about the risk.

Ego owns people as mine. 'This is my child'. I can spend any amount of money on my child. If other children need just a part of what I may be throwing away for my children, I have a strong consideration about helping to meet their needs. If I give freely, I feel proud of being a generous humanitarian.

Ego wants recognition for service. While I am writing this, thoughts such as 'This is very profound', 'nobody else looks at the problem from this angle' flit through my mind. And I am amused. This game goes on and on: 'I must die for my country', 'How dare they attack my culture?' I fight for what I consider to be mine against what is not mine — this is the law of ego. Dominated by ego, we compete, exploit and kill.

How do we handle ego? It is obvious that it cannot be done away with. In my experience, many of those who try to get rid of ego become more egoistic, paradoxically enough. They have an overbearing ego about having no ego — proud of their humility. (Alas, I know the feeling well)

Instead of an attempt to exterminate ego, it is more rewarding to expand it. For this reason, in India self-inquiry has been held to be indispensable for growth and for civilization. In the scriptures, there is a standard exercise: I am not the body, I am not the mind, I am not thoughts or feelings or desires, I am not relationships or roles, I am self, limitless and all-pervasive, unborn, undying. The purpose of this exercise is to eliminate our comfortable notions of self and lead us into an awareness which does not stop short of anything.

Established in Self, the ancient Indian seers prayed:

May all be happy
May all be free from disease
May all see good
May no one partake of misery.

To them, Self is at one with all. The greatest men of India of the twentieth century — Mahatma Gandhi, Aurobindo, Tagore — functioned in social, political, economic and educational fields, from the same place within.

Expansions of one's idea of self is inner transformation. It liberates universality, love and cooperation. Hatred, aggression and competition begin to be seen as forces which keep one petty and small. As long as we function from being petty and small, we will ruin the best of institutions.

This is the inner basis for a new world order — more and more individuals expanding and operating in terms of 'my planet' 'my world' instead of just 'me', 'my family', 'my village', 'my state', 'my country'. But for this, political and economic changes will be more like games that we like to play, unable to avert violence, war and catastrophe. ■

Jinendra Jain taught for ten years at Delhi University. After studying T.M. with Maharishi Mahesh, and Hatha Yoga with Swami Hanuman Da, he dedicated himself full time to Siddha meditation and philosophy with Baba Muktananda, serving as his interpreter for six years. Recently he researched Kashmir Shaivism with Swami Laxmana Joo and others in the valley of its origin. He has written numerous articles. He is founder/director of the Center for Self-Recognition in San Rafael, California and is currently giving workshops and retreats throughout the U.S.

All orders are only paths. There must be some objective and that objective is harmony. We are steadily moving from the old conception of law, realizing the inadequacy of the old order, into a new movement of harmony.

BY M.P. PANDIT

FOUR LINES OF CONSCIOUSNESS

At no time in history, perhaps, was interest in futurology so wide-spread as it is today. Wherever we go, whichever books we read, there is always a tone of expectancy, of trying to envisage what is going to happen tomorrow or the day after. And there are, broadly speaking, two schools of thought, each considering itself most authentic regarding the future that is in store for us.

One is a pessimistic one. Rightly or wrongly, this section is identified with the Club of Rome, particularly after the first report of the Club titled *Limits to Growth*. According to them, we are rapidly coming to a point of no return; the resources of the world are becoming depleted thanks to our stupidities and lack of foresight; the world population is rising. And everywhere they point out, with anemphatic satisfaction I would say, that a breakdown, a disintegration of the values of life is imminent. They envisage what we would call in our Indian tradition, a *pralaya*, dissolution—unless the governments concerned, the leaders of opinion cooperate and arrest this process of decay and postpone the end as long as possible. These have been called our prophets of doom.

The opposite camp, identified with the Hudson Institute, of which Dr. Kahn is a representative, says that all this is moonshine. People have been talking of this doomsday from the beginning; there are always people who will speak of doom, but we should not believe them. We are really coming into an era of unprecedented prosperity. Maybe the present resources are exhausted, maybe the world population is increasing, but certainly you can depend upon the ingenuity of man to develop new resources, find out new avenues of nourishment. Science is breaking its frontiers and there is no end to its wonders. One day new planets will be opened for colonization and who knows, we may send our excess population to colonize these new planets. These then, are, broadly, the two viewpoints on the future.

I represent a tradition which is very positive in these matters. We do not accept the exaggerations of either side. We envisage this whole world, this universe as a manifestation of a Divine Consciousness, an Infinite of which there is no end. "You take out the full from the full and the full remains," as the ancient scripture has it, and at every moment in our life there is a continous unrolling of the powers, of the values, of the elements of this Infinite Consciousness. The world is moving, steadily moving, opening up new dimensions. The progress is real.

We know our consciousness has grown. There is a continuous unfoldment, there is a continuous enlargement and heightening of consciousness that is taking place in the world and the unrolling of this consciousness is but another name for the evolution of consciousness, an evolution of which the movement of our humanity is a signal flare.

M.P. Pandit is editor of World Union and chairman of World Union International in Pondicherry. This article, extracted from a longer keynote address Mr. Pandit made at the 5th triennial conference of World Union International was first published in its complete form in World Union (April, 1977). The shortened article is published here with permission of World Union.

World Union International is a network of centers and individuals committed to the realization of full human development within the context of human unity.

The majority of World Union centers are in India. These centers are serviced by central offices located at Sri Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry. Other Indian centers are located in Calcutta, Delhi, Bangalore, Uttarpara, Butwal, Hyderabad and Burdwan.

World Union International works from a holistic worldview and its members seek to achieve the social, economic and political institutions required for a just and human world community.

Now this consciousness which is manifesting itself is seen to be unfolding on four great lines, whether in the individual or in the universe. There is an element that seeks for knowledge, to know truths, to know things, to garner information, and this is the great line of knowledge on which the general consciousness is developing. Second, there is the line of power to safeguard the knowledge so gained, to allow life to grow on the lines framed by this knowledge. Third, there is the irresistible impulse to produce, to organize, to coordinate, to harmonize. And fourth, every man, whether he likes it or not, has to work, has to serve. No life is possible, says *The Gita* (and our commonsense) unless we work. This impulsion to work, to serve, is the fourth line on which consciousness has developed. So the great lines along which this universe is shaping itself as an expression of consciousness are knowlege, power, order and harmony, and service. And it is in these four dimensions that we are hoping to sight the next future.

First we have taken service and perfection of work. Service—work—so far has been only or mainly a means of earning our livelihood. Most of us work to earn our livelihood, to earn money to purchase things that will give us happiness and joy. But service can be developed to give its own joy, to give its own happiness. It is only when we take up work with the spirit and attitude of love that we can hope to achieve a certain perfection in work. As long as the pragmatic consideration is there, in its utility by way of money, work is not very likely to proceed on the lines of perfection.

There is a great controversy whether technology should be divorced from us, or at least reduced because it has almost succeeded in making man its slave. I would submit that this is a very wrong approach. Technology, after all, is a product of our consciousness. It is our consciousness that has developed technology. If we maintain the superior position of consciousness over its product, technology can be of immense benefit. Naturally we have to decide, we have to discriminate. There are areas where technology on a large scale is indispensable; there are areas where the application of technology could be profitably minimized. It is the consciousness that uses this technology that decides whether it is going to be for our good or for our evil.

Second, law, order, harmony. Most of us are aware that laws as they are framed are to regulate our conduct and these laws are based upon man-made standards. Standards change from age to age and so does the law. I remember, when I was a boy, hearing a sentence attributed to Gandhiji: "Let justice triumph though the heavens weep." I liked the sentence very much and the idea it

expressed. I committed it to memory and used it in some of the debates in which I participated when I was a student. It is only now, pretty late in my life, that I realize this is a limited approach. Justice? But what is justice? How do you determine it? Does justice as envisaged and as practiced in the courts all over the world meet the demands of humanity in the course of its progress? Understanding, sympathy, love, it is these that are the demands of the Time-spirit and not the justice of tooth for tooth and eye for eye. The conception of justice, the conception of law based to secure that justice—they are changing. In the Indian tradition, there is a distinction between what is right and what is right in the law. *Satya*, they say, is the essential truth of a thing, and the process in which that truth works, that is the *rtam*. So the process of the working of truth is the law. And this law is designed to be lived in order to build up an order, an individual order, a collective order. But order by itself is not an end. There is the communist order, there is the capitalist order and many other kinds of order. But all orders are only paths. There must be some objective and that objective is harmony. We are steadily moving from the old conception of law, realizing the inadequacy of the old order, into a new movement of harmony. This harmony is of the mind, of the heart and of the body. There is a triple harmony which we are pursuing and we are steadily moving into that dimension. We have to consider what promotes this harmony and what promotes this sense of unity. It is only harmony that can bring about unity whether in our individual societies, in the country, or in the whole world—it is towards that we are moving.

And there is the third movement, power and its effectuation. Power is not just electric power. Power is a force of consciousness and it is impersonal. Whether power will do good or bad depends upon the user. It is the consciousness that uses it that decides what is going to be the result of the application of power. To increase the quantum of consciousness in every situation, to be conscious when utilizing the power is the new dimension that is being added to world thought today. And it is only in the measure in which we increase the element of consciousness in ourselves and in life situations that power can be selfeffectuating. Otherwise power very often becomes self-defeating.

Lastly, there is knowledge. Knowledge normally understood up to a certain time was mental information, mental enlightenment of what is true, of reality, of nature. Whatever reveals itself to us as a result of our experiments, what has come down from our scriptures, from our ancient books—that constituted knowledge. But now, in fact, we have outgrown that old, limited conception of knowledge. Now we are steadily moving towards enlarging its frontiers. We know more things than we get by the knowledge through the mind. The reasoning mind, the logical mind is not the sole apparatus for gaining knowledge. We have begun to realize, as the more advanced section of scientists has, that mind as we know it is only an operation of consciousness. Man can know without the operation of the mind. Mind as a faculty is a projection, a limited projection of consciousness and for a true knowledge, a full knowledge, it is consciousness that is to be awakened on all levels of our being, steadily enlarged and made to embrace more and more objects of knowledge. And this is what Sri Aurobindo calls knowledge by identity. So knowledge through the mind is slowly developing into a movement that will swell one day into what is called knowledge by identity.

These are the four great lines on which consciousness that is manifesting in the world is developing and the next future is closely bound in determining what are the prospects of these developments taking place in our lifetime and deciding in what way we can contribute towards the shaping of this future. ■

MATHIAS (continued)

An extremely important point to remember when we consider India's role in an interdependent world is the need to pay serious attention to the question of solving our own social justice problem. We cannot speak about injustices on the international scene with any degree of credibility, so long as these injustices are reproduced within our country. Our example in the tackling of social injustice will also be of great benefit to other developing countries, chiefly if we are able to demonstrate that justice can be procured without sacrificing freedom. We should be able to prove that it is possible for a country to give its people both justice and democracy, freedom and bread. In this respect our example will be of distinct value as against that of China.

India has a long and powerful religious tradition. We are one of the two centres in the world from which religion has originated, the other being Palestine. Of all the civilizations of the world, the Indian is probably the most profoundly impregnated with religious fervour and marked with the relentless quest for the Absolute. Indian religious thinking and experience have influenced the whole of Asia and are now beginning to move to the West. Surely such a powerful force as religion can and should be brought to bear on the search for a just, and a truly interdependent society.

In conclusion it seems not unjustified to end on a note of cautious optimism in regard to the possibility of establishing a just, interdependent international society having the necessary social, political and economic structures to sustain it. Without any doubt there exists today a forward historical movement towards such a society; the signs of the time indicate humankind is ripe for real progress to be achieved in this direction. Those who are aware of the enormous stakes involved for themselves and for the whole of humankind should seize the opportunities that now present themselves. Through personal and collective initiative, through professional and local interest groups, in schools and colleges, in Churches and other religious gatherings, they should propagate the idea that the future of humankind and the happiness of all the world's people depend upon a genuine growth in the concept and the practice of interdependence, sharing and mutual support.

(1) Barbara Ward: *The Angry Seventies*. Rome, Pontifical Commission, Justice & Peace, p. 26.
(2) Saul Mendlovitz in Preface to Rajni Kothari: *Footsteps into the Future*, p. xvii.
(3) *Saturday Review*, July 10, 1976, p. 4.
(4) *Newsweek*, July 14, 1976, p. 11.
(5) cf. Arthur Simon—*Bread for the World*, Paulist Press, New York 1975—a truly remarkable book.
(6) *Daedalus*, March 1976, p. 147.

GREGORIOS (continued)

A structure that is evil can thus produce good values because this human freedom frequently manifests itself best under adverse circumstances. Even a good structure can, because of this element of human freedom, give rise not only to evil values, but also to alternate values of goodness which are not fostered by the structure itself.

But the problem today is a little more than the issue between socialism and capitalism. They are both systems thrown up by a post-Christian civilization in Europe, and respond more directly to European socio-economic reality. We in India have a different perspective on reality, a dif-

ferent heritage, a different cultural personality, different from that of European nations and even from China. Our own value orientation cannot be exactly the same as that of Western socialism or humanism.

It has to be different not because we think everything European is wrong. Rather, we are under obligation to learn everything we can from the experience of the rest of humanity. However, our own culture embodies a different perception of what it means to be human. Our Western educated liberals often overlook this heritage, because their training has not given them an opportunity to understand and appreciate it. Our masses are still in touch with this heritage, and the Indian liberal will do well to sit at the feet of the masses and learn from them what our own true humanity is. Three values which are of cardinal importance are *Renunciation* (including the concept of *nishkamakarma* and the idea of simplicity), *Unity with the cosmos*, and the *perspective that transcends time and space*, *Objectivity and Quality*.

The Indian contribution to the world order would include the embodiment of a value-system of this kind built into the socio-economic structure. This requires a lot of further reflection and study. We will also have to figure out more clearly how much of the value system is directly thrown up by the system of production and distribution and how much by other factors.

The problem of world order, seen from the perspective of education in India, comes to three major thrusts:

(a) *Class-room education* i.e. textbooks, teachers, curriculum, testing, etc.
(b) *non-institutional education* i.e., mass mobilization and education
(c) the dialectic between the two.

(a) *Class-room education*. In relation to this one can only indicate points at which reform is required, like

i. examination of the teaching of world history and culture, and correction of the bias towards Graeco-Roman, West European overemphasis bringing in more appreciation and understanding of Asian and African cultures and history;
ii. relating all subjects to human problems and current human aspirations all over the world;
iii. providing more opportunities to learn social cooperation and the organization of work for the common benefit, without personal profit motive.
iv. giving more encouragement and recognition to qualities of social cooperation, e.g. willingness to subordinate personal interest to social interest, ability to settle tensions in the community, skills of making the community mobile for undertaking common projects etc. These qualities should be tested and marks given for these also.
v. teacher training which includes the ability to develop social skills and to work with people in the villages; also developing interest in world order questions like international economic justice, conservation etc.

(b) *Mass mobilization and Education*. In a country like India, the educational system is defective both quantitatively and qualitatively:

i. Half the illiterate people of our country are still unreached by programmes of literacy;
ii. those who have received an education are constantly grumbling about its quality.

We cannot therefore depend upon the expansion of the present educational system as the solution either to the problem of literacy or to the related problem of the powerlessness of the masses vis-a-vis the twin organized powers of governmental bureaucracy and industrial bureaucracy.

What we need is therefore an alternative system of education which supplements the present system of schools. This would be a system of mobilization of mainly rural people, but also of dispossessed urban people. It would be a programme in which the people organize themselves for thinking in literacy, skills, culture, and social cooperation for production and distribution. This is an enormous programme, and the trained manpower for this should come largely from the present educational system. The boys and girls who have finished 10 years of schooling can be sent to the villages to assist in these village development programmes, under the guidance of teachers specially trained for this work.

(c) The dialectic between the school systems and the mass-organization system is bound to throw up many conflicts and hopefully also create a dynamic of social change. The world order system towards which all of this will be oriented will be one that affirms cultural dignity as well as the organization of the power of the voiceless of the world. The inability of institutional education to meet the demands of this dialectic will itself lead to a transformation of institutional education. Real large-scale contact between our students and our rural and urban masses may turn out to be the catalyst that sets in motion a process of change with lasting results.

CONCLUSION

1. A just world order cannot be conceived until the powerless of the world have been better organized for making their own contribution to it.

2. A world order that is truly human cannot be constructed by first creating a model and then building it up. It has to evolve from the pressures for justice and solidarity that are already operative in human society. An artificially constructed world order may become an additional tool for the powerful to oppress and exploit the underprivileged.

3. A world order model cannot be an association of Governments alone. It must devise a means of drawing into it the contributions of all segments of the public. This requires a tremendous amount of imagination and creativity.

4. A world order model will also have to devise a different way of organizing local societies for production and distribution, so as to generate, foster and sustain genuinely human values.

5. Economics and education are two key points in building a world order. Negative factors are the national security state, the world market system and the patterns of exploitation and oppression that distort human social existence everywhere. Dealing with these problems is more urgent and perhaps more important than building world order models in a situation of international injustice. Creating a dialectic between the educated elite and illiterate or semiliterate masses may generate a social dynamic of vast proportions. ■

BOOKS FROM THE 70'S

Contemporary on World

SUMMARIES BY PATRICIA MISCHE

STUDIES ON WORLD ORDER

Edited by H. Singh

Delhi: Kitab Mahal (W.D.) Private, Ltd., 1972.

This collection of fourteen essays on world order includes contributions from eminent professors of political science, economics and international law from eight Indian universities.

Edited by Harnam Singh, the volume was compiled for use at the university level as an introduction to the issues, content and problems involved in establishing a just world order. Its purpose is ultimately pragmatic as well as academic.

> "The possibilities of large-scale and extensive destruction in this age of thermonuclear weapons cannot just be wished away. It is futile to think hopefully that somehow the world will be saved from nuclear annihilation. On the other hand it is sheer irresponsibility on our part to throw up our hands in despair and resign ourselves to a general doom. It is possible to avert the danger looming before us, and the first step in that direction is to engage in a disciplined study of the ways and means by which we may establish a world order which is both stable and just."

The first chapter includes a brief description of the authors' preferred model of the future (based on values of positive peace, economic prosperity, and the realization of human rights and social justice) and an analysis of present trends and anticipated futures. In the early chapters the following existing patterns and trends are outlined:

a. a type of global anarchy in which sovereign states are the chief actors. Singled out as the chief weakness and obstacle to a positive peace is the *lack of effective world law* through which violated states can find redress and through which lawless behavior on the part of nation states can be restrained. The doctrine of national sovereignty is still clung to, even though it is no longer in harmony with the facts and demands of today.

b. *balance-of-power* diplomacy and *the unregulated pursuit of national power.* Power is an important human value, but it needs to be regulated. Security over the last two centuries has been built on nationalism and the assumption that the nation-State is the all-important institution. Universal collective security must be developed to regulate abuses of power and to ensure true national and world security.

c. *internationalism and interdependence* have grown rapidly, especially in areas of trade, communications, economics, resources, transnational problems, etc. This has eroded the supremacy of the nation state even though balance-of power politics still dominates.But internationalism to date has failed to halt the violations of human rights and the arms race. More effective measures need to be sought.

Indian Authors Order

d. *a bi-polar system* where two major systems of alliance dominate world politics, i.e., Western and communist.

The remainder of the book examines specific aspects and problems in developing a preferred model of world order based on effective law. These essays focus on the following concerns:

— *economic and technological development,* particularly in the less economically developed region of the world.

— *disarmament and arms control,* including questions about security mechanisms in a disarmed world, phases of disarmament, the social and economic impact of disarmament, and the transfer of resources to development needs.

— *peaceful co-existence,* including the key question of how, in a future world order, relations between radically opposed socio-political systems could be handled.

— *peaceful settlement of disputes* through third party arbitration, adjudication and diplomatic procedures.

— *collective security;* a look at existent progress and mechanisms for collective security, (including the United Nations), and how these mechanisms can and need to be improved.

— *peaceful means of seeking social change;* what mechanisms are needed for groups and communities to accomplish essential social change without having to resort to violence?

— *world police (peace-keeping) force;* how should such a force function effectively to keep the peace? What accountability lines? Under the UN or a world government?

— *a Gandhian approach;* a look at some of the Gandhian principles such as truth, non-violence, equality, justice, right means, etc., as they bear on future political organization of the world community.

The concluding chapter looks at possible systems of world order. Here, and throughout the essays, emphasis is given to the revision and strengthening of the existing charter and agencies of the United Nations. Conversion of the General Assembly into a representative legislature and the Security Council into an executive is envisaged, as are a more effective peace-keeping force and mechanisms for the compulsory peaceful settlements of dispute.

A central theme in these essays is the need to transcend national sovereignty. We must no longer allow ourselves to be dominated by the politics of force and a balance-of-power controlled by the super-powers, while "war as the final arbiter lurks always in the background," writes Harnam Singh in his Preface. He continues:

Essays in *Studies in World Order* were contributed by the following:

R.P. Anand, Professor and Head, Department of International Law, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

N.R. Deshpande, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Nagpur University, Nagpur.

B.N. Ganguli, formerly Director of the Delhi School of Economics, later, Vice Chancellor, Delhi University, Delhi.

S.A.H. Haqqi, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

P.N. Masaldan, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

P.S. Muhar, formerly Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra; later, Vice-Chancellor, Bihar University, Muzzaffarpur.

B.S. Murty, Dean and Professor of International Law, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam.

G. Parthasarthy, Professor of Applied Economics, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam.

K.V. Rao, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

Harnam Singh, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, Delhi.

S.P. Varma, Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, Rajasthan University, Jaipur.

Books From The 70's . . .

"The modern world may be compared with the United States of America which combines diversity with homogenity — where in the beginning there was no government, nor even a desire to constitute a nation under one government. In spite of this, the antagonistic groups finally combined into a territorial state. We may, therefore, look forward to a similar change in the present world order in the not too distant future. The efforts of men of good-will all over the world will go a long way towards the creation of of a world order with enforceable world law, where Rabindranath Tagore's dream for India may yet come true for the whole world:

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towads perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action —
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

(from Gitanjali)

Patel and Kothari on World Order

Rajni Kothari and A B. Patel both published their books on world order in 1974. While they share similar concerns and even a similar approach to world order through a strengthening of the United Nations, the two books are very different.

Kothari's context is more proximate and political. He focuses on present Third World concerns about injustice and domination and suggest socio-political alternatives in the time span of the next several decades. His analysis is closely related to the recent history of colonialism, to class conflict and to the political and economic domination of the super-powers. His alternatives grow out of seeking ways to overcome that domination and ensure a measure of political and economic autonomy. He understandably cautions against world order efforts that would stabilize present patterns of dominance.

Patel sets his context in a longer time span of human evolutionary change and development. For him the foundations for world order are spiritual. The human species is involved in an evolution of consciousness—a transition toward a spiritual age and destiny. Socio-political realities, the unprecedented struggles related to social justice, human rights, class conflict, racism, and excessive nationalism are symptoms of a crisis of growth in which the human intellect is revolting against the old order and preparing to give birth to a new age. World order—in terms of human institutions needed to cope with existent problems—is seen as a necessary step, but a very incomplete aspect of this longer evolution.

In Patel's view, the development of effective world order institutions is not something we should back into out of fear that we might not otherwise survive. Rather, it is part of the inevitable unifying process of Nature and Divine Consciousness—something to seek out and embrace.

The two perspectives offered by Kothari and Patel are not contradictory. Truth-seekers will find complementary and significant insight in both.

FOOTSTEPS INTO THE FUTURE: DIAGNOSIS OF THE PRESENT WORLD AND A DESIGN FOR AN ALTERNATIVE
by Rajni Kothari

(N.Y.: Free Press; Delhi; Orient Longman, Limited)

As coordinator of the World Order Models Project (W.O.M.P.)[1] team in India, Rajni Kothari wrote *Footsteps Into the Future* in collaboration with other Indian scholars on his regional team.

The alternative world order model advocated by Kothari and his colleagues grows out of their evaluation of the existent world system as one that embodies a dualism no longer tolerable in the human community. This dualism is manifest in the growing North-South polarization between "have" and "have not" nations. And it is seen in the widening breach between elite rich and mass poor *within* societies as well as *between* nations.

As Kothari sees it, the "process of history will continue to be determined by ad hoc manipulation of events (bureaucrats in power, military establishments, international technocrats, professional managers) "unless people consciously free themselves from this drift" and "outline a realistic design on which to fashion the will to change."

The central value for Kothari in his preferred future is *autonomy*. He defines this as quite different from both hedonistic individualism or "a perfect society in which all men enjoy goods and liberties provided by the social order." It is rather "a conception in which the individual can exercise a wide range of choices in pursuing self-realization" according to self chosen ideals, and in cooperation with other individuals with whom feelings of kinship and political destiny are shared. The aim is non-centralized democracy, "a truly participant community based on a consensus of values."

Kothari also stresses *justice* above equality as an operational value — not a mechanistic justice, but one promoting a certain quality of life.

> "Left to itself, the concept of equality can become a dogma, lead to demagogy and tyranny from above, and reduce individual men and women into uniformities called masses in whose name power is concentrated in the hands of a few. A proper concept of justice should, instead, foster respect and preserve diversities in human propensities and preferred social arrangements."

In developing an alterantive that can maximize autonomy and justice, Kothari cautions against merely extending the characteristics of the nation-state to the level of a world-state. This, he feels, would only accentuate present deficiencies and injustices.

He advocates instead a model in which approximately 20 to 25 states would be developed through gradual regional federations of territory, population and resources. The more or less equal size and power of the regional federations would offset existent patterns of economic and military dominance and provide the measure of equality and autonomy which smaller, poorer and new nations now lack. At the same time, it would permit cultural diversity.

While retaining a measure of autonomy, the regional federations would in turn need to develop certain world federal institutions with authority to deal at the world level with functions that transcend the capacity of one region alone. As Kothari sees it, these functional institutions would be entrusted with authority to:

- promote justice
- promote social and economic development, including a fair distribution of resources
- restrain states and regimes from the violation of human rights and freedom
- protect the environment
- counter monopolistic tendencies of multinational corporations
- food programs for assisting in times of scarcity
- resource planning and development, including new energy sources
- taxation of international facilities and resources from areas not under national control, deep seas and space
- restrain the arms race, maintain a global (armed) peace-keeping force, and work towards disarmament.

Kothari further advocates that such world institutions be developed upon existing structures of the United Nations through considerable strengthening of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the World Court of Justice and the specialized agencies, such as ILO, FAO, ICAO, WHO, UNDP, UNESCO, etc. While Kothari recommends that the General Assembly be continued as the body representing national governments, he recommends the establishment of a World Parliamentary Association with representatives of national legislatures, and a Commission on Disarmament, a World Food Bank and technical commissions to undertake studies and recommend action on specific problems such as population, science and technology and ecology.

[1]*The World Order Models Project is a program growing out of the Institute for World Order. In this project academic teams in Africa, India, Japan, Europe, the Soviet Union, China, North America, and South America have been involved in the development of preferred models for world order. These models have been published collaboratively by Free Press (New York), Ghana Publishing Corporation, (Accra), North-Holland Publishing Co. (Amsterdam), and Orient Longman Limited (New Delhi).*

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER
by A.B. Patel

(Pondicherry, India: World Union International), 1974, 165 pages.

> "Divine consciousness is involved in matter and is slowly evolving. Evolution has not ceased after the appearance of man on this planet. If man in his egoism thinks that he is the last summit of evolution, he is sadly mistaken. Evolution still proceeds, and in the course of time a being will appear on this planet who will be as far advanced from man as man is from the ape."

Thus A.B.Patel describes the context in which a new world order will emerge as an evolution of consciousness. He sees it as an evolution towards divine life, a spiritual evolution which will "create a new state of human consciousness" and with it "new outer conditions."

Patel sees outer conditions, i.e., political, social, economic, educational, and other organizations, systems and

institutions, as a reflection of the inner state of human consciousness. As we proceed higher in consciousness, "the outer forms will change and there are bound to be new organizations, systems and institutions." Inner, spiritual growth is, therefore, a precondition for a new world order of peace, justice, liberty, and equality.

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER is a collection of essays written over a period of several years, exploring the inner and outer dimensions of this evolution of consciousness. In them, Patel elucidates the vision and philosophy of Sri Aurobindo and World Union International. The latter is the movement for world unity in diversity which has grown from Sri Aurobindo's spiritual vision. A.B. Patel has been among the chief architects of its development.

Describing the social and political development of humanity as envisaged by Sri Aurobindo, Patel outlines the following stages:

1. Infrarational (primary focus is on material things)
2. Rational
3. Suprarational or spiritual.

One age prepares the necessary conditions for the emergence of the next. Presently we are in the rational age, but this is only a transitional period preparatory to a spiritual age. When the rift between conventions and truth become wide and intolerable, the human intellect revolts, setting the stage for a new age. Today reason is dissatisfied with its own workings. It was believed that reason and science would lead us on a path of continuous progress. In fact, says Patel, it has brought only "half light and partial order and has failed to achieve what really can be done by spirituality, and the elements of the full light of the spirit."

He feels that the rejection of individualism, and the growing subjectivism is a social cycle we are in now as a transitional period between a rational and spiritual age. In this period "the barriers between soul and matter become progressively thinner."

In this present era we find that physically, i.e., in technological and communications media, the world already is one. But our inner attitudes have not kept pace with our outward achievements. Divisions of race, creed, economics, social inequities, and prejudice persist. What is needed is an evolution of consciousness in which our inner growth matches the achievements of our outer world. It is only such a spiritual growth that provides a satisfactory foundation for a new order.

> "Our movement is not seeking world unification merely by political, administrative and such mechanical means, though these have to be used until the truth of the spirit steps in and leads humanity towards the real unification."

Patel sees world government as an essential and inevitable part of the future that is taking shape. He sees it as essential to human survival, but also as part of the ideal of unity—a natural outgrowth of greater consciousness of the "oneness of creation and the essential unity of mankind."

He sees world government as best evolving through a strengthening of the United Nations. The U.N. has been unable to fulfill its mission to maintain *peace* and security because it was not given the strength and power necessary to such a mission. The greatest obstacle, he feels, has been Article Two of the U.N. Charter, which states "the organization is based on the absolute sovereignty of each member state."

Patel sees that absolute national sovereignty, "having served its purpose as a step in the evolutionary process, is now the primary obstacle to world unification.

> "The United Nations and its allied agencies tend to act in ever-widening spheres and with increasing international cooperation, but the United Nations still cannot act effectively because all the nations of the world openly reserve the right to wage war, impose blockades, indulge in subversive propaganda against other governments, and other activities of questionable determination if they feel it serves their best interests to do so. Though in this nuclear age nationalism has lost the antecedents which made it imperative for survival, and scientific and technological developments have rendered a territorial state irrelevant, national egoism will not agree to part with any portion of its sovereignty for the common good of humanity in spite of man's new planetarian experience."

Patel sees world government as essential if human life and civilization are to survive.

> "World government alone can control arms, enforce disarmament, secure peace and settle disputes peacefully, help in the economic development and welfare of the world, spread the advantages of the technological-scientific revolution throughout the world, preserve human and social rights, thus making the world safe for the valuable diversities of race, religion, forms of government, economic systems and cultural values. This evolutionary work requires faith, patience and perseverance because structural changes will meet with strong membership opposition. Unless the super-powers agree to effective implementation of resolutions, our promising future remains a dream." ■

"World government must and will come, for there is no other remedy for the world's sickness.

NEHRU